The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858

burg, 28 August 1983
ty-second year - No. 1097 - By air

EEC struggles to find the right formula



ive Western European research institutes have submitted a report on state of the European Community the alarming title "The EEC faces ecision: Progress or Decline."

ut the situation is much more com than these two simple alternatives gest. European integration has from outset been a difficult task, beset by es.

he future of the European Commu will doubtless continue to be more n a straightforward choice between gress and decline.

here is no reason for glossing over current state of the Community. mmon Agricultural Policy, the only lly integrated European policy, has ught it to the brink of bankruptcy.

he reform of the CAP, which has postponed for years, now seems antly to be making headway under ure of a shortage of funds that es the search for compromises no ier.

n increase in funds for the EEC's

IN THIS ISSUE

els budget will be inevitable no er how hard the Common Market tries try to economise.

s an issue that threatens to become vergreen at European summit conces.

o-one can really believe that the y tasks adjourned at the Brussels summit in March for considera by the June summit in Stuttgart will ettled in time for the next session of European Council in Athens in Deber.

the Council of Ministers, which is re decisions are basically reached in European Community, conflicting utually exclusive interests prevent ement on crucial issues.

The European spirit is most readily apparent these days at the European Parliament, direct elections to which were first held in 1979.

Since Greece joined the Community in 1981 the Strasbourg Parliament has represented about 270 million people in the 10 EEC countries.

The European Parliament, which commutes between Strasbourg, Brussels and Luxembourg, may not have achieved anything spectacular in the past four years, *but that could hardly be expected* given its limited powers.

Yet it stands for the real political achievement of the 1950s. Euro-MPs are freely elected representatives of 10 European nation-states that have fought on opposite sides in two world wars this century.

They form common parliamentary groups consisting of British and Irish MEPs, Germans and French, Belgian, Dutch and Luxembourg members, Danes, Italians and Greeks.

Cooperation at the European Parliament may soon extend to include Spanish and Portuguese MPs.

The European Community's success is best measured in terms of the fact that no member-country seriously considers resigning from the EEC.

Yet that does not, by any stretch of the imagination, mean the Ten are prepared to keep in step as they progress toward integration.

In retrospect the first expansion of the European Community can be seen to have been a crucial juncture.

Britain and Denmark, two of the new members who joined in 1973, are difficult partners, countries for which European union as a political objective is neither an urgent target nor an affair of the heart.

Reservations on the Stuttgart solemn declaration, which at least officially reiterated the political target of European integration, were also expressed by Greece.

Other governments that were likewise far from wildly enthusiastic about the declaration chose not to voice their views on the subject.

With southern expansion of the Community to include Spain and Portugal on the agenda, cooperation in Western Europe seems sure to grow more comprehensive.

But intensification of EEC integration seems likely to be the loser in this process.



(Cartoon: Horst Haitzinger/Nordwest Zeitung)

No-one need be in any doubt that the more partners there are in the Community the more difficult it will become to arrive at a common denominator for their various interests.

It will also be more difficult to arrive at decisions that go above and beyond a compromise that is tolerable for all concerned.

There will need to be a counterweight to ensure that stagnation on integration does not lead to decline.

The European Commission, which its first president, Walter Hallstein, described as the custodian and driving force behind European integration, no longer has the force needed.

It has long ceased to have it and is now politically, if not legally, dependent on member-governments.

Besides, its motive force has been largely exhausted by years of bureaucratic administration of mountains of butter, beef and other farm produce for which the Commission is by no means solely to blame.

That leaves the weakest Community institution, the European Parliament, whose members have done far from bad work since the first direct elections in June 1979, especially when their limited opportunities are borne in mind.

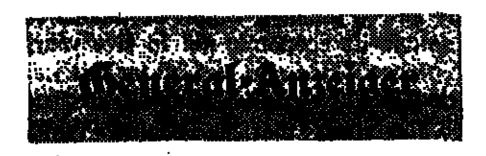
They have shown, up to an point, that European domestic policies are possible. Direct elections to the European Parliament will be held again between 14 and 17 June 1984.

Those who support European integration, even if, for good reasons, they are dissatisfied with the present state of affairs owe it to Euro-MPs to strengthen their hand by voting.

The Parliament alone cannot accomplish decisive progress in European affairs, but if it is backed by a majority of Euro-voters what it has to to say will carry greater weight with member-governments and the European Commission.

Günther Nonnenmacher
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 20 August 1983)

Bonn uncovers a new political dimension in the Far East



High-level talks between Bonn and Tokyo, extremely important yet largely unnoticed by public opinion in the Federal Republic of Germany, were recently held in the Japanese capital.

The two-day consultations were described by Japanese commentators as the first high-grade talks on security policy ever held by Tokyo and Bonn.

They were the first bilateral contacts between the two governments since the Williamsburg summit, at which Japan made its debut as an active partner of the Atlantic alliance on missile disarmament.

The Tokyo talks were held at a time *when the emphasis in respect of the* overall East-West balance seemed to be shifting to the Asian and Pacific regions.

Far Eastern observers are already referring to the Reagasone axis, named after its initiators, US President Reagan and Japanese Premier Nakasone.

Slogans have been coined in this context to which little or no attention has been paid outside the region.

They include ideas such as a new Pacific economic order, a US-Asian prosperity concept and the transfer of the world's economic centre from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

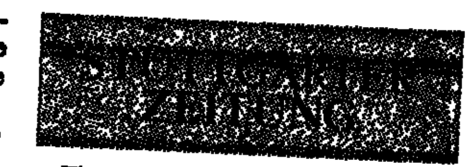
What with these and Japan as the foremost US partner in containing Communist influence in the world by economic means one wonders whether Europe might not be in the process of missing a bandwaggon that has already started to roll.

State secretary Berndt von Staden of

Continued on page 2

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Reagan trip shows US concern for South-East Asia



President Reagan is to visit South-East Asia in November. He will be the first US President to do so since the Vietnam war.

The strategic importance of the region has been rediscovered by the Reagan administration.

South-East Asia has undergone sweeping changes since the inglorious US withdrawal from Saigon in April 1975.

Hanoi holds sway throughout Indo-China and the Soviet Union has established a foodhold.

The Russians have armed Vietnam to the teeth, making Hanoi a regional superpower and enabling the Vietnamese to conquer Kampuchea.

In return the Soviet Union has been allowed to etablish military bases of its own.

Non-Communist South-East views the trend with growing anxiety. Governments of the ASEAN countries, Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia have urged the United States to pursue a more active Asian policy as a counterweight to Soviet influence.

They would like Washington to exert greater pressure on Hanoi to withdraw Vietnamese troops from Cambodia.

That was the message ASEAN Foreign Ministers conveyed to US Secretary of State Shultz when he met them in Bangkok.

Thailand in particular has demonstratively warned that the Soviet Union is a threat to Asia.

The Thai Foreign Minister has referred to reports that Moscow is installing new missile launching facilities in eastern Siberia that will amost double the number of SS-20 systems aimed at targets in Asia.

Vietnam, he said, was Moscow's Trojan horse in Asia. Soviet air force and naval units stationed in Vietnam had potentially grave consequences for the security of all Asian countries.

They made these countries susceptible to Soviet intimidation tactics, he warned. Last but not least, the Soviet Union threatened vital shipping routes between Europe and the Far East from these new bases.

The Russians now had operational bases in the heart of South-East Asia inthe form of air force and naval facilities in Vietnam that were once built with US taypayers' money.

From these bases Soviet Backfire supersonic bombers could reach US bases in the Philippines and the Strait of Malacca, through which much of the crude oil bound for Japan and other Asian countries passed.

They could not only reach these targets but also return to base without refuelling.

At Cam Ranh Bay, a former US naval base in Vietnam, the Russians have laid on underground fuel tanks and submarine pens.

In addition to other units half a dozen Soviet submarines are constantly stationed there, including three that are nuclear-powered and equipped with nuclear missiles.

In Kampuchea too, a mere 125 miles from the Thai border, Moscow is enlarging the deep-water port of Kompong Som, formerly Sihanoukville, and the Ream naval base.

The Soviet Pacific fleet now numbers over 200 vessels, including 45 major fighting units, 150 submarines and 350 fighter aircraft.

The US Seventh Fleet is small in comparison, but the Americans are convinced their 80-odd ships in the Pacific, including three aircraft carriers, and 375 aircraft are more than a match for the Red Fleet.

In 1980 four Soviet warships, led by the aircraft carrier *Minsk*, showed the flag in the Gulf of Thailand.

The US fleet has since visited Thai ports more often and held more and larger exercises with units of the Thai navy.

This year alone a round dozen such manoeuvres are planned.

Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia has made Thailand a front-line state, as Mr Shultz pointed out in Bangkok in June, when he demonstratively reiterated America's pledge to come to Thailand's support.

Under Presidents Ford and Carter US pledges of support did not sound too credible in Asia. ASEAN leaders seem to feel more inclined to believe President Reagan in this respect.

Many Asian politicians noted with satisfaction and approval President Reagan's statement that America had fought for a noble cause in Vietnam.

Most of them failed to come to terms with Jimmy Carter, his emphasis on human rights and, as they saw it, his pussyfooting toward the Communists.

Mr Carter, who was dissatisfied with the autocratic regime of President Marcos in the Philippines, allowed relations with Manila to cool off.

Mr Reagan has included Manila and Bangkok in his South-East Asian itinerary as America's foremost allies in the region.

He originally intended only to visit Djakarta as the current headquarters of the ASEAN secretariat, but America has its largest overseas air force base and its largest naval supply depot in the Philippines.

Since the Vietnam war South-East Asia has proved politically stable and developed most encouragingly in exonomic terms.

Fears that neighbouring states would fall like dominoes after the Communist take-over in Indo-China [...] been unfounded.

A fair number of Asian [...] including Singapore's [...] Kuan Yew, are convinced [...] ca's struggle in Vietnam [...] its neighbours.

The US commitment in [...] this argument runs, enabled [...] ing countries to gain politi[...] nomic stability.

Economically South-East A[...] one of the most promising [...] Third World.

It remains to be seen, [...] what extent Mr Reagan can [...] tance in America of a more [...] policy in Asia.

It will be no easy task gai[...] val on Capitol Hill of additi[...] fic US commitments in the [...] Vietnam syndrome is still [...] evidence.

On Cambodia, for instance, [...] ton has so far avoided raising [...] itself and made do with follo[...] footsteps of the ASEAN [...] aimed at isolating Vietnam.

As for defence, Washingto[...] to encourage countries in the [...] (such as Japan) to be more a[...] step up cooperation among the[...]

The ASEAN countries hav[...] shown little inclination to sho[...] becoming a military pact.

But under pressure from [...] expansionary policies the fiv[...] states have lately tended to d[...] on defence matters too.

Dietrich Mo[...]

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 16 A[...])

Continued from page 1

Tokyo talks

the Bonn Foreign Office, who headed the German delegation in Tokyo, had this to say: "The importance of the Pacific in the struggle to strike an East-West balance of power is on the increase, not least on account of the weight Japan carries."

Herr von Staden is widely experienced in Atlantic affairs, having served as Bonn's ambassador in Washington and advised Helmut Schmidt on security matters.

He said he had learnt a great deal in Tokyo. Without engaging in overall political speculation it was clear that under Mr Reagan, a Californian at the White House, US interest was being transferred from the Atlantic to the Pacific seaboard.

This was affecting the Pacific region accordingly. But Europe remained the crux to any solution of the East-West conflict.

The new political dimensions that dawned on Bonn in Tokyo amounted mainly to the clear commitment by Japan to a role in any settlement of the East-West conflict.

For Tokyo the European missile problem would have clear repercussions if the Geneva missile talks were merely to result in a transfer of Soviet missiles to Siberia.

Against this background Japanese officials welcomed Bonn's view, reaffirmed in Tokyo, that missiles should be scrapped and not just relocated.

The Bonn delegation welcomed the Nakasone government's willingness, as proclaimed in Williamsburg, to boost Japan's defence commitments.

They would still be at a level well below Bonn's but were seen as the natural consequence, even if it was only accepted late in the day, of Japanese alliance obligations toward the United States.

Bonn has certainly realised that Germany and Japan have more in common than mere second-rate trade squabbles.

On security matters the two governments see eye to eye inasmuch as neither imputes that the USSR has intentions of military aggression.

They also agree that maintaining peace and stability is not just a military it is increasingly a matter for economic and development policy.

In Williamsburg the Japanese Premier accepted this new role for his country, which went on to make fresh loans to Central America, the Middle East, Indonesia, South Korea, China and Turkey.

But the Japanese government recently had to admit it would be unable to double its economic aid in five years because of the pressure of Japan's national debt.

The ideas that lie behind White House views on the subject were outlined by US Presidential adviser Norman Bailey in Brussels last May.

In a speech to which considerable importance was attached in Asia he said: "The world's economic centre of gravity is shifting with gathering momentum to the Pacific region."

US trade with the Asian Pacific region already makes up 40 per cent of America's import-export business. Asian countries take a similar view of the trend.

Vice-Premier Rajaratnam of Singapore feels the Asian Pacific region will have outstripped the Atlantic economically by the 1990s.

Asian economists note that newly industrialised countries in the region such as Taiwan, Hong Kong an[...] Korea — and they alone - [...] count for 20 per cent of world[...] the end of the century.

German influence in the regi[...] to be on the wane. It was Japan[...] gates who noted at an economi[...] symposium in Düsseldorf that [...] mechanical engineering export[...] and the Pacific have declined [...] cent over the past 10 years.

Over this period Japanese [...] have increased to nearly 40 per [...] US exports to over 30 per cent.

A Malaysian diplomat agrees [...] Germans are handing the mark[...] to the Japanese and Americans.

At the Bonn Foreign Offi[...] pointed out that EEC-ASEAN co[...] tion was a German idea born of [...] lisation how important the regio[...]

"Asia is definitely not marked [...] on the map as far as we are conc[...] says Herr von Staden, "althoug[...] Europe cannot hope to draw le[...] Japanese and US trading figures."

Peter C[...]

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 16 Aug[...])

The German Tribun[e]

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 23 Schoene A[...] Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1. Telex: 02-14733.

Editor-in-Chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander [...] English language sub-editor: Simon Burnett. - [...] bution Manager: Georgine Picone.

Advertising rates list No. 15 — Annual subscription DM 45.

Printed by Druck- und Verlagshaus Friedrich [...] Bremen-Blumenthal. Distributed in the USA by [...] MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street, New York [...] 10011.

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE re[...] published in cooperation with the editorial [...] leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of [...] ny. They are complete translations of the original [...] no way abridged nor editorially redrafted.

In all correspondence please quote your [...] number which appears on the wrapper [...] asterisks, above your address

A public image lesson for the government

[...]hancellor Helmut Kohl must take [...]nother look at both his style of [...]ship and the machinery of go[...]ment if he wants to get through a [...]ult autumn with an intact crew.

[...]s clear that the coalition, the Cabi[...]nd the Chancellery are not running [...]ey should.

[...]ere are disputes within the coali[...] especially between the CDU and [...]DP. A major issue to settle is with [...]section of the CDU which thinks [...]here is no need for long-term coo[...]ion with the FDP.

[...]s been often said that one reason [...]elmut Schmidt's downfall was an [...]sive preoccupation with detail.

[...]is government seems to be going to [...]her extreme. Chancellor Kohl is [...]prepared to cancel a cabinet meet[...] he feels it is appropriate. His view [...] there's nothing to decide, don't [...]d that there is.

[...] the Cabinet is more than just a [...]ion-making body. It is an impor[...] forum for discussion.

[...]nisters can only inform themselves about overall policy through regular Cabinet discussion.

One example: the government has been harmed by conflicting statements by Cabinet members over the extent to which Bonn has guaranteed the big bank loan to East Berlin. This shows that, on this point, Ministers were not sufficiently informed.

Perhaps Schmidt's obsession with details and his demand that Cabinet meetings should be attended by all members had its point.

It is also obvious that the Chancellery has not yet become the pivotal point of Bonn politics, as it was under Schmidt.

There is a lack of coordination both within the government and between the government and the states.

A strong hand to bring back some order is called for.

Chancellor Kohl can hardly be blamed for having kept out of the coalition disputes themselves lately (he is holidaying in Austria, from where he said in an interview that there were no major disputes in Bonn).

For the conflicts are too deep-rooted to be set aside. Any attempt by Kohl to use his authority to and them, therefore, would have been doomed to failure.

Perhaps he feels that leaving the parties to get on with their feuding would wear them out. This would make it easier to bring them to their senses.

[...]is time that the Bonn coalition rea[...]sed that it must keep on showing [...]public where its strengths lie.

[...] did not make a very good start [...] the summer break, with all eyes [...] on the *Land* elections next month [...] Hesse and Bremen.

[...]DU parliamentary leader Alfred [...]egger and Bonn Finance Minister [...]hard Stoltenberg (CU) faced the [...] on the same day, heedless of the [...] that they thus lessened each other's [...]lic relations effectiveness.

[...]nd some of the things. Dregger said [...] the missiles deployment sounded [...] a warning addressed to his own go[...]ment.

[...]he FDP leader, Foreign Minister [...]ns-Dietrich Genscher, used his in[...]ct for saying the right thing at the [...]t time.

[...]e demonstratively seized on his [...]ed "about-turn" letter of August [...] in which he had demanded that [...] SPD-led government (the FDP was [...]nior partner) shoulder tasks it was [...] in a position to tackle.

[...]enscher had good reason now to re[...]ect that letter's demand for an [...]out-turn in thought and action."

[...]e reasoned that, though the new go[...]ment had begun to put the budget [...]n even keel, reduce the public debt [...]cut back on excessive social spend[...] this was a long-term task. It would [...]pread over years, and now that it [...] begun, nothing was being said [...]t it anymore.

[...]n fact, the new spirit that emerged in [...] election campaign of the coalition [...]ties last spring seems to have vanish[...] for the moment.

[...]here is much too much talk of the [...]flicts over the missiles deployment [...]d too little of the efforts needed to [...]tinue the economic and fiscal reco[...]y policy that will eventually bring [...]mployment under control.

[...]n a memorandum to his fellow FDP [...]mbers, Genscher stressed his agree[...]t with the new coalition partners re[...]ding fundamental "about-turn" is[...]s, hoping that this will have the same [...]ect on the voters in Bremen and [...]sse as it did in the general election, [...] March.

Peter Hopen

(Nordwest Zeitung, 19 August 1983)

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Kohl needs to iron out a few coalition crinkles

But the Chancellor will have to take another look at the public image of himself and his team: troubles fall into two categories: inside and outside, the government.

One of the outside ones is the CSU leader, Franz Josef Strauss. He is likely to remain difficult to handle because of who he is and because, not being a member of the government, he is not subject to Cabinet discipline.

State prime ministers have travelled abroad and to the GDR under previous governments as well. But they did so in a serving rather than a policy-making role.

Strauss did not exercise this restraint while in Rumania, Poland and the GDR and this has raised some doubt as to Bonn's policy line. Government representatives later had to try to do some explaining.

Nobody knows what Strauss's future actions will be. But it seems pretty certain that Kohl will be unable to keep him on a short leash.

This makes it the more necessary to strengthen and activate the institutions on which the chancellor has a direct influence the Cabinet, the Chancellery, and the coalition itself.

The CDU, spearheaded by Kohl and the leader of the parliamentary party, Alfred Dregger, wants a long-term cooperation with the FDP, the only partner that can provide the majority needed to govern.

Chancellor Kohl... rumblings in the ranks. (Photo: Sven Simon)

As a result, the CDU is trying to be equitable towards its junior partner and, as Dregger puts it, protect it from a situation in which it might no longer be able to keep face.

This applies not only to Bonn but to the states of Hesse and Bremen as well.

The conflict over the bill that would prohibit demonstrators from concealing their faces and over the statements of Aliens Commissioner Liselotte Funcke (FDP) would never have arisen if the CSU had pursued the same policy.

Those elements in the CSU that consider a long-term cooperation with the FDP superfluous keep emerging. There will be no peace in the coalition unless Kohl manages to settle this basic conflict.

Heinz Murmann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 17 August 1983)

Social Democrats search for a new political identity

The Social Democrats are pervaded by a mood of disenchantment. Even the qualities of their parliamentary leader, Hans-Jochen Vogel is not changing this.

What the party doesn't have is ideas. This means it doesn't have a programme. And an SPD without a programme is like a dove without wings.

For this is the party that once produced sweeping programmes out of heated discussion; it is the party of the passionately written thesis.

Yet this summer the SPD has presented itself as a champion bore. It has behaved with the inspiration of a bookkeeper. Vogel's political intelligence, sensitivity and solidarity have not been able to surmount the lethargy.

Where does salvation lie? Concentrating on the peace issue and disarmament is unlikely to help.

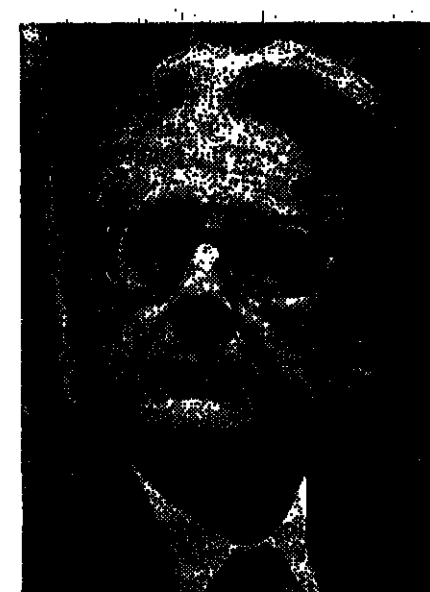
Despite differences, there is no force in this country that likes missiles and is bent on pursuing a sabre-rattling alliance policy.

All parties in the Bundestag are peace parties and all of them — except the Greens — are at the same time committed to security.

Hate of arms is part and parcel of a peace-loving nation. But the SPD can well leave this aspect to the Greens because it will never provide the basis for a political comeback.

By the same token, the Social Democrats — traditionally an ideology party — cannot attempt to return to power by tactical means nor can it wait for the centre-right government to weaken to the point of eventually collapsing.

Instead, the SPD must summon all intellectual courage to come up with convincing alternatives on such central



Hans-Jochen Vogel ... at the helm. (Photo: Sven Simon)

issues as economic, fiscal and environment policy.

As the Social Democrats see it, the traditional growth policy is obsolete anyway. It is neither feasible nor desirable.

The existing policy can neither stop the destruction of the environment nor can it present a new class of under-privileged people from emerging: jobless youth, foreigners, academics and blue and white collar workers.

A party that succeeds in presenting new economic steering mechanisms without curtailing personal freedoms, a party that evolves more meaningful forms of work while upholding social justice, could well become the governing party of the future.

The FDP is out of the question as a possible partner in a coalition of structural renewal — at least for the time being.

This leaves the Greens. But if Willy Brandt's vision of a "majority left of centre" is to become reality, the Greens would have to develop from adolescent pranksters into a party capable of being a coalition partner and drafting policy.

The have many a good idea to bring into a coalition.

The old concept of progress as outlined in the officially still applicable SPD Godesberg Programme of 1959 is an unsuitable instrument for the future.

Even more than before, progress today means a meaningful preservation of the existing.

The belief that science and technology would gradually make the world a better place to live in has been questionable for some time. But so far no political conclusions have been drawn from this.

The social compatibility of technical progress is still to be achieved in a political struggle, and it is realists rather than romantics who can achieve this.

The SPD has a chance to step out of its opposition role and enter this new territory.

Jens Gündlach

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 16 August 1983)

■ RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

World Council of Churches runs into some temporal difficulties

The World Council of Churches entered something of a crisis at its general assembly meeting in Vancouver.

The reason is a change in the balance of opinion that has affected many international organisations: Third World nations now have a weightier say.

In terms of numbers of churches and members, Europe and North America no longer dominate. The pendulum has swung towards Asia, Africa and Latin America. The high Third World birth rate means that the swing is growing every year.

The change showed in, among other things, the number of political topics on the agenda: people's survival in this world is the main task of Third World churches.

The catchphrases here are famine, death from poverty, violence, ignorance and the drive to share in humanity's wordly goods and abilities so that the people born in that part of the world can survive.

They took the theme of the meeting, Jesus Christ, life of the world, literally.

Justice took second place in the political discussion and peace was assigned to third place.

But on reading the resolution on peace and justice presented and adopted on the last day of the meeting this sequence appears to be reversed.

In the resolution, peace and nuclear disarmament are pivotal.

The sections on justice give the impression of having been added as an afterthought.

The delegates had too long been kept in groups, and in the end they had little choice but to adopt papers they did not fully understand.

As a result, the statement on peace is dominated by the ideas of erudite, Western-educated theologians obsessed with ridding the world of nuclear weapons before the holocaust prophesied by them.

But the applause for the condemnation of the arms race gave no clue as to where the hearts of the delegates lay.

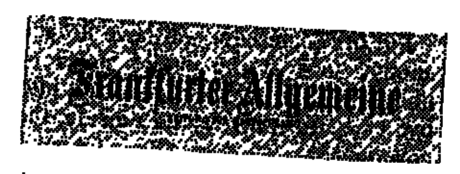
What really mattered to them became clear a few hours later when a proposed peace council of all churches was passed on to the central committee without further discussion.

As opposed to the general assemblies of 1968 (in Uppsala, Sweden) and 1975 (in Nairobi, Kenya), political topics were not given priority in Vancouver. Theology was the dominant issue.

No new insights

Though the Vancouver meeting did not result in any new theological insights, it confirmed the decision made in the past few years that social activities are only the consequence of Christian faith, theolocial work and the striving for the unity of the church over which they must not gain the upper hand. Yet this happpened over several years to the detriment of unity in the Ecumenical Council.

The political over-activity at the Geneva head office has meanwhile been pared down to size. But that happened



too recently to leave an imprint on the World Council of Churches.

No progress has been made on the main ecumenical question as to a further rapprochement between Geneva and Rome. But the inclusion of the Orthodox Churches, above all the Russian one, has promoted progress in the Ecumenical Council.

One step in this direction was the recommendation to all churches to debate the study "Baptism, Eucharist and Church Office" that was completed in Lima in 1982.

This "declaration of convergence" shows that the teachings of the churches are more similar than generally assumed.

The concilar community of the Eastern churches envisaged in Nairobi in 1975 was augmented in Vancouver by the objective of a eucharistic community. This is to bring the churches closer to unity; but it is unlikely that it will lead to practical results soon.

In its community of small groups and in its church services, the general assembly clearly bore the stamp of its secretary-general, Potter, who is to retire in 1985.

The lack of major events highlighted a work that would have gone under at a more impressive conference, i. e. the statement on community learning.

The church as teacher is not just an ambition but reality.

Twelve hundred years ago, it was monks who taught the Germanic tribes modern agriculture; and 300 years ago it was pietism that brought development to Prussia.

In development work in the field and in pastoral work in their home countries, it was the churches that instilled the principle of self-help where other institutions had failed.

But the churches are in double jeopardy of losing their link with the people and the sources that once turned them into churches. A church can only fulfil its teaching tasks while it learns. Theology alone will not do.

The empty churches must serve as a warning. The churches must once more learn how to learn. They must learn together with the people — the old, the young, the children, the jobless, the soldiers, the police and the pacifists.

They must learn once more to permit the Bible to speak in a way that will reach the people and they must learn to hold their services in a way that will prevent young people and [...] from running away from them.

No church has an edge over [...] on this score. The necessity for [...] ches to learn together can be [...] ecumenical bond that will hold [...]

Karl-Alfred [...]

(Frankfurter Allgemeine [...] für Deutschland [...])

What WCC [...]

The Geneva-based World [...] of Churches was founded [...] 1948 as a community of the [...] Protestant, Orthodox, Anglican [...] Old-Catholic Churches.

The Catholic Church is [...] member but it has a close [...] relationship and usually sends [...] vers to major events.

The general assembly, which [...] convened every six to seven [...] and has just been held in Vancouver [...] Canada, is the most important [...] of the organisation.

Every member church has [...] one vote in the assembly. Day-[...] affairs are handled by the [...] committee, whose members [...] elected by the general assembly.

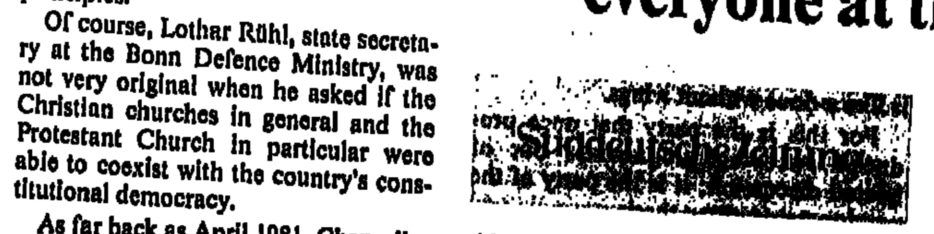
In its turn, the central committee [...] appoints the secretary general [...] lays down the work guidelines.

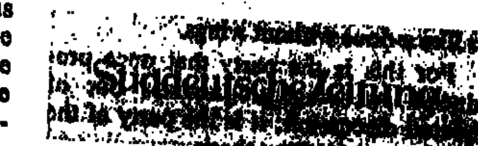
There is also an executive [...] tee of 19 and many specialist [...] mittees.

The head office houses [...] the General Secretariat but [...] permanent offices of the [...] committees.

(Nordwest Zeitung, 4 August [...])

Protestants just can't please everyone at the same time





Evidently, German Protestantism just can't put a foot right. One group accuses the Protestant churches in the federal states of meekly toeing the state line. Yet some politicians say they have no rapport with democratic principles.

Of course, Lothar Rühl, state secretary at the Bonn Defence Ministry, was not very original when he asked if the Christian churches in general and the Protestant Church in particular were able to coexist with the country's constitutional democracy.

As far back as April 1981, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt said that in their hearts the churches had not yet adopted democracy.

Why get worked up about the oversimplifications of Bonn VIPs (who have not exactly made a name for themselves as being knowledgeable about the churches) when even a theology professor like Trutz Rentorff makes a whole magazine article revolve around the maxim of the "traditional Protestant incompatibility with democracy"?

Granted, there is little mincing of words in politically troubled times. But it is not very convincing when people who rightly — demand that their opponents show a maximum ability to differentiate produce and disseminate nothing but clichés.

If "the ability to consent to and coexist with democracy" is to be understood as meaning that the churches must accept the basic features of the official security policy, a rebuttal is called for.

There is no law that could prevent the churches from opposing a political decision or an entire policy line.

It is a basic element of democracy that persons and associations enjoy the freedom of opposition and opinion within the framework of the Constitution. And if the churches wish to oppose the government's public debt or its peace policy or any other decision, this is their good right.

But what matters internally is whether the churches' action is compatible with the Gospel, The Ten Commandments and the Protestant Church's own constitution.

If the state tried to curtail these freedoms it would be the state that would have to prove *its* "compatibility with democracy."

But if this kind of fundamental opposition by the churches were to fall on deaf ears they, like anybody else, would have no right to take action against constitutionally made decisions, thus violating the law.

Here, too, the churches are under and not above the roof of legitimate state law.

With this in mind, it would be absurd to say that Germany's churches are at odds with our democratic constitution. They are every bit as loyal to the Constitution as the trade unions, the political parties — and state secretaries.

But, as with all other social groupings, the absurdity of the [...] extremely trying.

And if the churches — as [...] serving peace and reconciliation [...] were to react even more [...] than others because they are [...] fected due to their peace [...] this could not be held against [...]

This does not mean that the [...] and their dignitaries are beyond [...] cism. Naturally, work on [...] peace commands respect. But [...] some churchmen say in their [...] mons is only too often theologically [...] short-circuited, politically [...] and anthropoligically naive.

The way in which some [...] use the authority of the Gospel [...] their cloth has put a strain on [...] community. This is particularly [...] cause it is not easy to rid oneself [...] impression that they are trying [...] the easy acclaim of non-church [...] as a compensation for the [...] and effort that goes into sound [...] gical argument.

Still, nobody should pretend [...] these problems and challenges [...] known in the churches. They are [...] tedly debated, and it is certain [...] church leaders will soon make [...] that clergymen have no business [...] with lawbreakers and violent demons-trators.

But clichés and prejudices would [...] here. They are harmful to all.

Robert L[...]

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 4 August [...])

GERMANY

Anatomy of a nation: new books peer behind the scenes

[...] Pross, *Was ist heute deutsch?* (What [...] German Mean Today?), Rowohlt-Ver-[...] Reinbek, 160pp., board, DM24.

[...]n A. Craig, *Über die Deutschen. Ein [...]sches Porträt* (The Germans), trans-[...] by Hermann Stiehl, C. H. Beck Verlag, [...], 392pp., cloth, DM 34.

[...] Brandt/Herbert Amon, *Die Linke und [...]tionale Frage. Dokumente zur deuts-[...] Einheit seit 1945.* (The left and the Na-[...] Issue. Documents on German Unity [...] 1945). Rowohlt-Verlag, Reinbek, [...]beck, DM10.80.

[...]erd Schulz, *Die deutsche Nation in Eu-[...]*, published by the research department [...] German Association on Foreign Af-[...], Bonn, 272pp., cloth, DM29.

[...] Willms, *Die Deutsche Nation. Theorie, [...] und Zukunft.* (The German Nation, [...]ry, Situation and Future), Hohenheim [...], Cologne, 324pp., cloth, DM38.

[...]he age of supranational dreams is over. In retrospect de Gaulle is seen [...] have been right. Nationhood and na-[...]alism have regained topicality, [...]cially among the Germans, a divid-[...] people.

[...]et this topicality, to which a large [...]mber of publications testify, is prob-[...]atic inasmuch as reunification is [...], given the power situation, an ope-[...]onal aim of political activity.

[...]at paralyses the activity of the Ger-[...], but no-one is satisfied with the [...]ent state of affairs, neither left- nor [...]-wingers. The German Question [...]t continue to be considered unre-[...]ved.

A new left-wing nationalism has been [...]covered. Peter Brandt, the son of [...]D leader Willy Brandt, and Herbert [...]non have outlined its chronological [...]gress in their documentation on [...] Left and the National Issue.

Their aim is to prevent the right wing [...] monopolising nationalism. In it [...] are very much in tune with the line [...]n by Kurt Schumacher, the first [...]-war leader of the SPD.

Sociologist Helge Pross in her book [...]t Does German Mean Today? pre-[...] an empirical quest for indentity to [...]ulates of self-interpretation.

[...]he naturally pays particular atten-[...] to social relations and conditions. [...] findings are easily readable, if not [...]y profound inasmuch as they are [...]ngly dependent on the moment.

[...]he highlights changes that for the [...]t part are well-known. Social and [...]ominational differences, for inst-[...]e, are no longer as serious as they [...]d to be.

The Germans' main aspirations are to [...]lth, a family, social security, prospe-[...], ample spare time and self-realisa-[...] both at work and in private life.

[...]n other words, what we want is a [...]d of milk and honey for ordinary, [...]ent people.

As for the state and social system in [...] Federal Republic of Germany, Pro-[...]sor Pross tends to favour the tenet [...]t Germany has moved in a direction [...] its own.

It is based on the assumption that the [...]rmans have a strong authoritarian [...]dition because they lack experience [...] a successful bourgeois revolution.

[...] West Germans are all in favour of democracy because it has brought them affluence and security. For 35 years there has been virtually no support for anti-democratic political parties.

But they lack emotional ties, genuine affection for democracy. Neither in other Common Market countries nor in the United States are law and order assigned as much importance as in Germany.

Elsewhere they come low on the list of people's priorities.

Special importance attaches to US historian Gordon A. Craig's The Germans in the context of current literature on Germany.

It is a survey that could only have been written from a profound knowledge of events and trends, from lengthy and continuous personal experience and with the detachment of a foreigner.

In each chapter, as he outlines the current situation, Professor Craig refers in passing, as it were, to the entire panorama of German history.

His judgements on the present are based on a wealth of experience. His references to the past give them added depth.

What is more, the German reader gains important insights that only an outsider, or rather the outsider's view, is capable of arriving at.

Craig paints a portrait. He tries to capture in its entirety a nation that has been in existence for a millenium.

He seeks to interpret the many forms it has taken in art and politics, law and science in terms of an inner process of development.

"Documents of the 10th century refer to a regnum teutonicum as an established fact, which would seem to indicate that a recognisable national identity or national consciousness already existed."

He deals with the individual sectors of life in a remarkably quick and surefooted manner, pausing to check time-related changes in German continuity.

❛Democracy is firmly established . . . Bonn is not Weimar and it never will be❜

Professor Craig arrives at judgements with a superb sense of detachment and without making the comparisons between national traits that are so popular yet of so little meaning.

He begins his chapter on religion by drily stating that German intellectuals have so often declared God to be dead that one really ought to be surprised how much space German newspapers still devote to the subject of religion.

On money he deals with its magical, transformational power from the custodians of the Nibelungs' treasure via Mephisto as an imaginative inflationary artist in Goethe's Faust II and Karl Marx to Botho Strauss' comment that: "Instead of war we have now re-established a world of money."

On women: "Their struggle for equal rights was similar in Germany, at least in its early stages, in a number of striking ways to the history of Jewish emancipation."

He has similarly perceptive comments to make on university professors and students, on the Romantic movement, on the military and on Berlin, "Athens on the Spree and a city of crisis."

The fundamental approach to be read between the lines of this wide-ranging outline is an optimistic outlook.

Professor Craig would like to make it clear to his fellow-Americans, who like all of us are frequently prone to prejudice, that it is wrong to say the Germans will never change.

It has mainly been the French who ascribed to the view that the Germans would invariably revert to their old selves.

In Professor Craig's view 1945 was such a watershed in German history that despite all continuity a far-reaching change can be diagnosed.

The gap between Germany and the West has been clearly narrowed. Democracy is firmly established and certainly stands a chance of lasting. Bonn is not Weimar and never will be.

The books by Willms and Schulz were written with a similar interest in what Germans today are getting up to, but limit themselves to a single aspect, that of Deutschlandpolitik.

They start from diametrically opposite premises and arrive at contrasting postulates for practical politics.

Willms is a professed nationalist and works on the assumption that "for the Germans nothing is as necessary as a new nationalism."

Yet this is a fact they have so far failed to appreciate. In the contemporary scale of values greater importance is attached to democracy than to the nation.

Willms feels these are mistaken priorities. "Democracy is part of what one has; the nation is what one is." The result of history.

So the Germans are identical with their Nazi past, including both victims and hangmen. Willms does not approve of a selective view of history.

He fells it is as unhistoric as it is inappropriate to pick out democratic or, more primitively, progressive traits in German history and identify with them, as the late President Heinemann recommended.

By the same token Willms is opposed to singling out only the negative aspects. Moralising on the past merely prevents a nation from developing a fresh self-awareness.

In the historical context a nation has enemies. It has, to use Carl Schmitt's term, which Willms follows, a friend-foe relationship.

The foe, as he sees it, is the Soviet Union, which as a system is opposed to the free world and as a superpower is in a position to threaten all Europe from its Asian sector.

Last but not least, and in respect of Germany, the Soviet Union prevents its part of the German nation from exercising its nationhood.

In Willms's view the Germans are not aware of the Soviet threat. Instead, they hide behind moral self-humiliation, hopes of detente and ideologies of denationalisation.

Eberhard Schulz's book is more comprehensive in its conception, subtler in its interpretation and more flexible in its operational outlook.

He too has the maintenance of national unity in mind. He too works on the assumption that the Soviet Union would not at present be prepared to permit reunification.

But he does not regard the basic situation as a friend-foe relationship. He sees it as the result of historical development that admits of the possibility of true detente.

The nation is not, in his view, a categorical imperative either. Nations have suffered the most varied fates, have declined and been divided, have expelled people, gained and lost, and parts have established themselves as new and independent nation-states.

The real danger to German unity is, as Schulz sees it, not renunciation of the legal claim to national unity but the gradual decline of a common identity felt to exist in both parts of Germany.

The Germans do not run a risk of being denationalised from without. None of the wartime Allies sought to denationalise its zone of occupation.

But the common nationhood cannot be maintained permanently if the East German leaderes continue to pursue a rigid policy of seclusion and demarcation from the Federal Republic.

❛Germans are hiding behind moral self humiliation and the hopes of detente❜

So if German unity is less threatened externally than by a gradual decline in consciousness of a common identity within, the foremost goal for German leaders is clear.

It must be to maintain links and ties between the two German states, especially communications and personal relations between people in the two states, and to intensify and reactivate them at the cost of forgoing reunification if need be.

No less a person than Konrad Adenauer raised the idea of a separate right of self-determination for Germans in the GDR.

Even the most ardent advocates of freedom, such as Franz Josef Strauss and Axel Springer, would accept an Austrian-style solution.

So Schulz attaches priority to the German Question rather than the national issue. What matters, as he sees it, is how relations between Germans in the two states develop.

Willms sees a danger in meeting the Soviet Union half-way, that of weakening one's own position by means of "change through rapprochement" and forfeiting freedom, only to end up under the sway of the all-powerful Soviet Union.

Schulz would reply that the Soviet Union is always in a position to use reunification as a bait but will never do so.

For one, that would make the East German leaders' position insecure. For another, while the Kremlin might agree to neutralisation of the Federal Republic it would be most unlikely to voluntarily agree to neutral status for the GDR.

The Russian leaders might find a Communist Bonn government convenient, but not a Communist all-German state.

Peter Coulmas

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 15 August 1983)

Development aid has neither eased poverty nor reduced the wealth gap between North and South.

Criticism of aid programmes is growing. The United Nations Conference Trade and Development, Unctad, demanded at its meeting in Belgrade a massive increase in the amount of aid.

Are the failures so far because of not enough aid or is the whole approach wrong?

Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish economist, once thought that development aid should rise constantly and massively.

Myrdal, a Nobel Prize winner and a former Swedish Minister of Trade, now says that that aid programmes should concentrate on care of the poor and disaster relief.

He says development aid helps the rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

Together with Dudley Seers, Myrdal outlined his poverty strategy in a widely noted article written for the London daily paper, *The Guardian*, last year.

The authors charged the first Brandt Report on development aid with having ignored the true conditions in most developing countries. These countries, the article said, are predominantly dictatorships or have authoritarian governments not interested in helping the poor.

Large amounts of money were either wasted, for instance coruption, or benefited only the ruling elite.

Many donor governments did not keep promises to concentrate their aid on the poorest countries.

Political and commercial motivations played a major role in granting aid.

The authors no longer exempted the previously praised multinational organisations from their criticism.

■ THE THIRD WORLD

Whole development aid issue comes under scrutiny

They urged governments to continue to step up their development aid. But they called on the donors to make absolutely sure that their aid benefited the needy.

Non-government agencies, including the churches, should play important roles.

These organisations had moral motivation and the ability to deal directly with local institutions, bypassing governments.

A Bundestag resolution passed by all parties in March last year described the fight against absolute poverty as a priority of German development policy. The main target group was to be the poorest groups.

But only rarely do ideas match the deeds.

Commercial or political motivations dominate the actions of the donors, despite denials.

A small selection of global data indicates that the criterion of poverty in granting aid had only a minimal effect: only 56.8 per cent of the world's government aid went to low income countries in 1981 (i.e. countries with a per capita income of no more than $410 a year).

And only 21.6 per cent went to the poorest countries that are part of this group.

Aid aimed at combating absolute poverty and improving the social position of the masses is much more complex and protracted, and less spectacular and export-promoting, than traditional financial and technical aid.

It is also less attractive for many donors and meets with serious obstacles in recipient countries.

A late report in 1979 by the then Development Aid Minister, Rainer Offergeld (SPD), said the success of development aid hinged on the developing countries themselves. It was up to them to create the preconditions for the success of foreign aid.

The report hit the nail on the head when it said: "Hierarchic orders aimed at keeping large sections of the population underprivileged or at repressing ethnic groups hinders development. This applies even more to countries where rampant corruption or other crass shortcomings can lead to social unrest or civil war."

Statements by Offergeld's successor, Jürgen Warnke, and his parliamentary secretary, Volkmar Köhler, indicate that the Ministry is prepared to act.

Warnke wants to increase discussion with the recipient countries in a bid to achieve the necessary preconditions for economic and social development.

Köhler stresses the points on which the present development policy differs from that of the previous government, saying: "We want a policy dialogue that will take our legitimate interests into account. The emphasis must be on help towards self-help. The main preconditions for development are such things as a pluralistic society, private initiative and free enterprise."

Decades of experience, he says, have shown "developing countries with elements of free enterprise to be more successful than those with planned economies."

But under no circumstances does Bonn wish to foist its own economic ideas on the developing countries, says Köhler.

Some years ago, when Berlin Senator Elmar Pieroth was still the CDU's development aid spokesman in the Bundestag, he got to the core of the matter by formulating this maxim: "Do nothing the developing countries don't want. But don't do everything they want unless it meets our development priorities."

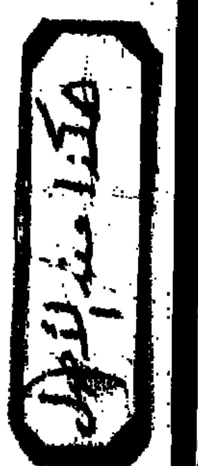
It would be wrong in this connection to speak of violations of sovereign rights or of interference. Outside aid always contains an element of "interference", but no country is forced to accept or offer aid.

It would be absurd to expect a donor to grant aid against his better judgment. And it would be wrong to ideologically malign the "terms and conditions" that go with aid, of these terms and conditions are simply the result of a mutual agreement on the aims and implementation of the aid.

It would greatly promote the successful conclusion of a policy dialogue if all parties concerned realised that even the most massive outside aid cannot solve the internal problems of the recipient countries without parallel measures by their governments.

Otto Matzke

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 12 August 1983)



Private fina[...] up as publi[...] concern gro[...]

Private efforts to raise de[...] aid for the Third World [...] ing more successful desp[...] unemployment and stagnating [...]

A Bonn Ministry of De[...] Aid report says the reason [...] public understanding of Thi[...] problems is increasing.

In 1982, donations for dev[...] aid projects of the churches, [...] tions and smaller private orga[...] rose 13 per cent over the previ[...]

In 1981, 167 organisations [...] total of DM839m. This [...] DM949m last year.

Unlike the state, whose dev[...] aid was financed from tax, priva[...] nisations must convince don[...] their work is both necessary and [...] And they must do it time and [...] says the report.

They must also show that the [...] money was used as intended.

Bonn has been supporting [...] agencies with Federal funds sin[...] By using some of its budget [...] these non-governmental organi[...] the Development Aid Ministry [...] achieve results that cannot be [...] by bilateral agreements at gov[...] level.

The idea is that something [...] done by whoever does it best [...] ing with this concept, the orga[...] get the money the state would [...] spend to do something less effi[...]

Private development aid [...] tions often have expert partners [...] target countries who can chan[...] money past the government bur[...] cy and past prestige objects dir[...] the poor and into useful projects.

This enables "government mo[...] reach particularly needy sections [...] population where the traditional [...] ments of bilateral government aid [...]

On average, the non-governm[...] ganisations received DM1 in fe[...] subsidies for every DM2.50 rai[...] them in the past three years.

The ratio for church organi[...] was DM1 to DM4.10 and for priv[...] ganisations without political or [...] afiliations DM1 to DM8.70.

This favourable ratio of do[...] and government subsidies averag[...] at DM1 to DM2.5 because many [...] organisations received consi[...] more in subsidies than they them[...] could raise.

Organisations like Freedom [...] Hunger, Leprosy Relief, the Red C[...] Medico International, Terre des [...] mes, the World Peace Service in [...] and scores of other organisations [...] be out of business if they had to d[...] on donations only.

Among those that received consi[...] ble Federal subsidies for their dev[...] ment work — trade union pro[...] cooperatives, self-help organi[...] and the media — are also the fo[...] tions of the political parties.

Between 1962 and 1982, govern[...] funding here rose from DM130,0[...] Dm 186.9m. This means that p[...] foundations received more of the [...] payers' money than the ch[...] (DM171.2m).

The Ministry says nothing abo[...] foundations' own funds, restricting [...] self to saying that they pay for 25 [...]

Continued on page 7

[...]o labour relations proposals now [...]eing considered by the EEC are [...]ng a rough ride.

[...]e proposal is supposed to introduce more uniform company laws, in[...]ing labour co-determination (where [...]ers have a say in company decisions).

[...]e other would give employees access to information about their company.

[...]h have the support of Heinz [...] Vetter, the former head of the [...]an trades union federation.

[...] specifically allowed himself to be [...]ed to the legal affairs committee of [...] European Parliament to help in[...]ce the path of the proposals.

[...] in both cases amendments have [...] made to meet the none-too-pro[...]ve ideas of the European Parliament majority.

[...]ring voting on the issue, Italy's [...]tian Democratic Euro-MP Luigi [...]ario said the Europarliament had [...]r before caused such a world-wide [...]troversy.

[...]e fact is that multinational corpo[...]ons, American chambers of commerce and EEC employers' associations [...] never before made a more massive [...] to influence the Euro-MPs.

[...]t the time, a distraught American [...]spaper asked whether the information proposal would mean that Ameri[...] firms would have to disclose business secrets to communist union repre[...]tatives who would then pass the sec[...]s on to Moscow.

[...]uropean employer lobbyists echoed [...]e fears, saying that this could lead [...] withdrawal from the Community of [...]erican and Japanese capital.

This had its effect on the Christian [...]mocrats in the Europarliament, de[...] the trade unionist wing among [...]

[...]gether with the Liberals, the Bri[...] Conservatives and the Gaullists, [...]y had a clear majority. Even Labour [...]s and some other Socialists were not

■ FINANCE

EEC waters down plan for labour-relations laws

particularly in favour of co-determination.

It was a somewhat dispirited Vetter who pointed to the compromise on the corporate law guidelines that had been reached in 1979 between the Christian Democrats and the Socialists' one-third of the supervisory board members were to represent the stockholders, one-third the staff and the last third were to have been elected jointly by these two groups.

But the Europarliament majority did not agree, so the EEC Commission now leave it to member nations to choose between three models.

The first model provides that staff representatives should hold no less than one-third and no more than half the supervisory board seats.

In the second model, the board members are elected jointly by capital and labour representatives. An arbitration panel would rule on disputes.

The third model provides for a sort of separate labour supervisory board, though without the right to reverse management decisions.

Each of these guidelines would amount to progress for labour in Britain, France, Italy, Ireland, Greece and Belgium. But it is doubtful whether Margaret Thatcher's government would approve of such revolutionary innovations in the Council of Ministers.

The German attitude is that the 1976 *Betriebsverfassungsgesetz* (an extensive set of laws governing labour-management relations) must not be changed to labour's detriment.

It is above all Britain that is likely to oppose the socalled "information guidelines" in the Council of Ministers although the Commission's new draft is not as harsh as its 1980 predecessor.

But the British EEC Commissioner for Social Affairs, Ivor Richard, has gone out of his way to preserve the basic concept of his Dutch predecessor, Henk Vredeling (hence the frequently used name "Vredeling guidelines"), despite the amendment wishes of the Conservative majority in the Europarliament.

Especially in subsidiary companies of multinational corporations, the employees are no longer to be faced with a sudden closure of their plant due to a management decision in some distant country.

Under the new draft, all companies with one or more subsidiaries employing at least 1,000 people must inform staff representatives at least one a year about their financial position, the anticipated development of production and sales, investments and the projected development of the payroll.

Exact information must be provided by the parent company before any important decisions (such as the shutdown or the relocation of a plant or major parts of it, major organisational changes or changes in production methods like the introduction of new technologies) are taken.

In such cases, talks between staff representatives and management must be held within 30 days to bring about agreement on measures planned by the work force.

If necessary, the staff is to be able to go to court to force the employer to hear them.

Another point provides for internal company agreements to the effect that "a panel representing all employees of the parent company and its subsidiaries in the Community may be created." This would amount to a sort of "super works council".

But whether the trade unions are prepared and in a position to institutionalise this "may" provision is doubtful.

Still, Heinz Oskar Vetter attributes great importance to it.

Attempts by the Federation of European Metalworkers Unions to bring about such works councils at companies like Philips and some automakers have failed on a number of occasions.

Under the new guidelines, management would not have to disclose information which, if made public, would do considerable harm.

If necessary, the courts or an arbitration panel would have to decide how these provisions are to be interpreted.

According to the unions, it is here that the business lobby in the European parliament has achieved its biggest breakthrough in defusing the basic idea.

"It would be better than nothing if the information and corporate law guidelines were to be passed by the Council of Ministers at least in their present form," says Vetter.

Social Affairs Commissioner Richard says that this should be possible next year.

But it will take a least another two years before the national legislation of the member states can be changed accordingly.

For some multinational corporations this would be the first major breakthrough in terms of a certain degree of labour co-determination, and Community trade unions would be forced to cooperate more closely.

Erich Hauser

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 August 1983)

Continued from page 6

[...]kers abroad (compared with the [...]rches' 490).

[...]he Ministry holds the private orga[...]tions in high esteem because they [...] continue their work when political [...]ditions make government work im[...]sible.

[...]hey can also react more swiftly and [...]ibly to new situations and can deve[...] more imaginative experimental ap[...]aches to development problems. [...]y are not bound by routine.

Non-government organisations spent [...]otal of DM1.337bn for development [...] in 1982. The Development Aid Mi[...]try contributed DM388m for 1,500 [...]jects or 6.44 per cent of this overall [...]dget.

All projects are evaluated on the [...]s of specific applications and the [...]eign Office assesses the project from [...] vantage point.

[...]ut great care is taken to strengthen [...]her than curtail the independence of [...] private organisations, the Ministry [...]ys.

A set of criteria has meanwhile been [...]olved to enable the Ministry to pro[...]ble programmes extending over seve[...] years than only individual projects.

In any event, the citizen who volunta[...]y promotes certain projects with his [...]onations, which amount to much more [...]an his contribution as a taxpayer, re[...]ves the state of a considerable finan[...]cial burden.

Christian Schütze

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 August 1983)

New trade war over cereals ripe to sprout

The next USA-European Community trade war over cereals is already programmed, and the good harvests on both sides of the Atlantic will make matters worse.

Only a few weeks ago, politicians managed to settle their differences, among other things over subsidised American cereal exports to Egypt, a traditional customer of the EEC.

Europe's farmers are about to bring in a very good harvest though not the bumper crop of 1982.

This year's harvest is expected to bring about 53 million tons of wheat and 36 million tons of barley.

Bumper crops are a source of unending headaches for the EEC Commission, which has to buy the surplus grain at high prices and store it.

Following last year's record harvest of 130 million tons, there are now still 5.3 million tons of wheat, 780,000 tons of barley and 306,000 tons of rye stockpiled in Community silos.

This year, EBC cereals will cost Community taxpayers DM5bn, of which the Germans will have to pay DM1.5bn.

These unsellable surpluses are largely due to the fact that the intensive use by Community farmers of weedkillers and fertilisers has enabled them to get the last bit out of their 28 million hectares of farmland.

The blame also goes to the foxy farmer who sells his grain to the Community at the guaranteed high prices and feeds his livestock American and Asian feed that floods Europe free of duty and at give-away prices.

Because of this huge price difference, Europe's hogs, cattle and poultry eat more and more cheap manioc, citrus pellets and bran.

There would be no surpluses at all if the animals were fed Community grain. In fact, the Community would be able to provide only 96 per cent of its cereal requirements. The remaining four per cent would have to be imported.

But as things stand, it has to try and get rid of its cereal surpluses on world markets that are flooded with cheap grain from such major producer countries as the USA, Canada and Argentina.

To compete, the Community has to subsidise its expensive grain to bring it down to world market prices.

Small wonder then that a trade war must ensue when America dumps its subsidised cereals, as it is doing now with Egypt.

The US has another bumper wheat crop coming up. With its 2.3 billion bushels (about 84 million tons) this year will see America's fourth largest wheat harvest, despite the fact that government programmes have cut the land area under cultivation by more than 20 per cent.

Due to the stiff competition on world markets, the Americans expect their farm exports to drop to $34.5bn against the record $44bn two years ago.

In view of the Congressional elections next year, attempts by the American administration to cut its farm subsidies have failed.

In fact, subsidies for this fiscal year will amount to $22bn, twice the amount last year.

Only a short while ago, the Reagan Administration tried to push a bill through Congress that would have frozen the support prices that are governed by the difference between the state-guaranteed minimum prices and market prices.

If the market price is lower, which has been the case for some time, the difference is paid in the form of subsidies.

To stabilise the market prices Washington tries to export as much of its surpluses as possible.

Apart from the struggle for outside markets for grain surpluses, there is yet another EEC-USA conflict in the offing. The reason: the Community intends to spend about DM100m next winter to channel some 2.5 million tons of grain to the troughs of Europe's farms.

To make European grain financially attractive to the Community's livestock farmers, the EEC Commission intends to severely curtail feed imports. And most of these imports come from the USA.

dpa/VWD

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 August 1983)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Burning issue: control over missiles

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

US nuclear weapons are stationed in Europe. But the Europeans can neither prevent their use nor ensure that they are used if necessary.

The situation is unquestionably awkward, especially as it involves about 6,000 nuclear warheads.

It may be an ally who decides whether or not to use nuclear weapons, but the fact remains that Europeans have handed over responsibility to a foreign power on a matter of life and death.

Yet is it realistic to aim at a European say on the use of American nuclear weapons in Europe, even if it involves only a right of veto or objection to their use?

Neither the Bonn government nor the Opposition seems particularly enamoured of this suggestion by the Bavarian Premier, and a glance at Nato history shows there to be sound reasons for restraint.

Europeans have never been entirely happy about US nuclear weapons in Europe being entirely out of their control. An intensive transatlantic debate on this issue was held in the early 1960s.

President Kennedy launched the idea of a *multilateral nuclear force (MFL)* in a bid to satisfy the European claim to a say in nuclear defence.

The United States was prepared to assign to Nato command five Polaris subs with a combined total of 100 nuclear missiles.

The submarines were to be jointly owned by the Nato countries, manned by mixed crews from various countries, and all concerned would jointly decide on their use.

The proposal was made at a time when General de Gaulle aimed to lead France to fresh glory and constantly irritated the West with his leaps and bounds.

He demanded a three-member directory to run Nato. He had ideas of a European political union and a Franco-German alliance, not to mention a Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

In the wave created by this policy the MLF eventually foundered. Britain bought US missiles and was no longer interested in the multilateral force.

General de Gaulle, who was not offered the same terms by President Kennedy as Britain was, went ahead with the French nuclear *force de frappe* and eventually withdrew the French armed forces from Nato entirely.

The Americans lost interest in the project because their hopes of persuading Britain and France to scrap their independent nuclear deterrents had been mistaken.

In the end, MLF supporters in Bonn, who included Foreign Minister Schröder and Defence Ministers Strauss and von Hassel, were forced to write off the whole idea.

It had never been considered militarily practicable in any case.

The debate was not to no avail, however, as Nato set up the nuclear planning group (NPG) in which European Defence Ministers play a part in target planning for US nuclear weapons.

The NPG has evolved into a discussion forum for all manner of strategic issues within Nato.

Europeans and Americans also reached agreement on a consultation arrangement in the event of nuclear weapons being considered for use in wartime.

This procedure is acted out every other year in the Fallex staff exercises. High-ranking civil servants and military men who have taken part over the years say agreement has invariably been reached.

So Europeans today have at least a right to discuss the use of nuclear weapons, if not to decide whether or not they are to be used.

Only in Great Britain is there anything approaching a two-key system. US bases in Britain are jointly administered.

US and British troops are to serve alongside each other at Cruise missile bases in Britain, whereas Cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in other Nato countries are to be allocated to purely US units.

Differences

But does this "second key" in British hands mean Britain will be able to prevent warheads from being activated? Will the British government have a legal right of veto on the use of US nuclear weapons from British soil? These are questions on which British views differ.

It is hard to envisage the Americans allowing the Europeans more than a right to consultation. A great power is not going to leave its fate in its allies' hands and not going to make its future depend on majority decisions within an alliance.

That is the difference between other Nato countries and the United States. It is one with which they must learn to live.

It may arguably also be the price they have to pay for being so content to rely on others in matters of defence policy.

Gustav Trampe

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 21 August 1983)

Differing attitudes towa[rds] war and peace

Why are politicians and the public repeatedly surprised by dramatic developments that seem inconceivable until the moment they happen?

Neither was prepared for the total instability of the Shah's regime in the late 1970s or for the disintegration of power structures in Poland after the collapse of the Gierek regime in 1980.

Both were shocked by the unexpected transition to an apparently alien theocracy in Iran and amazed by the trial of strength between Polish workers and panic-stricken Communist leaders.

It was not just public opinion that was totally unaware of what was about to happen. So were Western politicians.

Cologne political scientist Hans-Peter Schwarz cited these two examples in a lecture to the general meeting of the German Association on Foreign Affairs in Bonn.

They were, he said, instances of how the prevailing universal or global approach from the angle of one's own values repeatedly lead to wrong assessments.

Misleading generalisations were the result of neglecting the particular view in relations with other countries, peoples and civilisations.

They resulted from a failure to appreciate the differences in mentality and value systems and too little consideration for the special features of each country, people and region.

Professor Schwarz, whose lecture is in the latest issue of *Europa-Archiv*, the association's fortnightly journal, is by no means opposed to a universal political view of connections and interdependences.

He does, however, recommend more consideration of particular domestic structures and warns against mistakenly applying one's own values to other peoples.

Professor Schwarz makes three points in particular:

● There is a religious dimension in the politics of other countries. It is evidenced not only by Islamic fundamentalism in Iran but also by trends in countries ranging from Indonesia to Algeria and from Turkey to Nigeria.

It is a trend that instills trembling into modern elites.

There is also what he calls "the powr of Buddhist beliefs," the fundamentalism of Protestant Am[erica] ... the religious outlook of black A[frica] ...

Spirituality is a political fa[ctor] ... alien to and hard to understa[nd] ... worldly viewpoint, the materi[alist] ... look that prevails in Germany.

Yet mistaken assessments in[evita]ble if the religious factor in t[he] ... of other countries is neglected.

● Views differ on war and ... Given the peace-loving natur[e] ... international easy-going disp[osition] ... the Federal Republic of G[ermany] ... which pursues policies aimed a[t] ... and non-violence, many Ger[mans] ... to appreciate that more se[lf-] ... countries, such as America, R[ussia] ... France, are unremittingly tryi[ng] ... sure their security by means o[f] ... build-ups.

They also fail to underst[and] ... there are nations that still see ... resolving their conflicts, such ... Chinese and Indo-Chinese, t[he] ... sians and Afghans, the India[ns] ... Pakistanis, the Argentinians a[nd] ... British, the Israelis and the Ara[bs].

The scale of values that pr[evails] ... Germany, Professor Schwarz ... high-flying but starry-eyed and ... make people moralise instead ... to understand and to reach ... conclusions, which would be m[ore] ... ful.

● Views also differ on non-dem[ocratic] ... systems. German public opini[on] ... special difficulty in drawing ... tions.

After a decade of detente p[olicy] ... people in the Federal Republic ... many have learnt, he says, that ... try like our own must arrive at ... medium between freedom a[nd] ... principles and common sense ... tical acumen."

So they find it least difficult ... allowances for the Communist ... But they are much less ready t[o] ... promise when it comes to ... such as Nicaragua, El Salvador, ... Africa, Turkey and so on.

Unlike Communist countries, ... case of the countries mentioned ... are frequently reluctant to cons[ider] ... take into account specific cond[itions] ... the individual instance.

Professor Schwarz advises p[oliti]cians, journalists and clergymen t[o bear] in mind that a common sense ap[proach] to foreign affairs is to view every ... try as a special case.

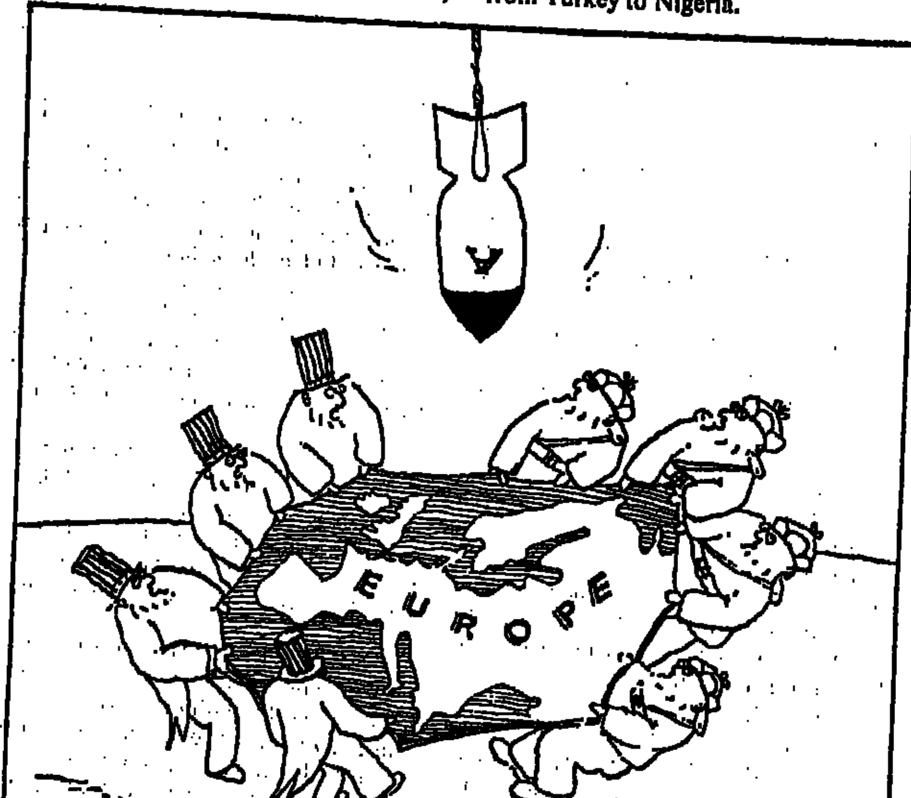
There is so much tension a[nd] ... many evils and it is wrong and ... cial to attribute them all to a han[dful of] universal causes, such as underde[velop]ment, the East-West conflict, Co[mmu]nism, capitalist exploitation or ... ever.

Such cliché-ridden views, acco[mpani]ed by a moralising application of ... own values to other countries, ... bound to lead to self-delusion and ... judgement.

Instability in many countries and ... cieties is due to specific causes con[nect]ed with the country or countries ... question.

Those who neglect these factors ... constantly be surprised by seemingly ... explicable developments.

(Mannheimer Morgen, 12 August ...)



(Cartoon: Tatio / Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt)

T]HE ENVIRONMENT

[O]rtho-chlornitrobenzole causes more than a few ripples along the Rhine

DIE ZEIT

[Fa]ther Rhine, Germany's foremost [r]iver, is the subject of contradictory [repor]ts. Some say pollution is on the [decli]ne. Then, as in June between Bad [Godesberg-Plittersdor]f and Bonn, dead fish are report[ed fl]oating downstream.

[Th]e river still has to handle gigantic [amoun]ts of effluent. Yet it continues to [be th]e largest source of tap water in the [countr]y.

[Ne]arly ten million people in the Federal Republic of Germany drink Rhine [water] filtered near the banks of the river [and p]urified in 31 waterworks.

[In] Europe as a whole 28 million people rely on the Rhine for drinking [wate]r.

[In] public the Rhine water boards [have] always dismissed as fiction the ru[mou]r that toxic substances industrial [ente]rprises pump into the river might [end] up in the water people drink.

[R]iver-bank filtration in the soil and [a]ctive carbon filters used in purifying plants have always been said to afford sufficient guarantee of toxic com[poun]ds being eliminated.

[S]o water board officials were bound [to] be incensed when a civil servant, [Gott]fried Edel, wrote on 28 December [198]2 in a letter to *Blickpunkt*, a Bonn [new]spaper, that the filters at Plitters[dor]f water works, near Bonn, were [una]ble according to the latest scientific [fin]dings to eliminate certain toxic subs[tance]s from the water.

[Wa]ter in Bonn is a touchy subject. [Plitt]ersdorf water works supplies nearly [...]000 people in Bad Godesberg and [the] diplomatic area with over six million cubic metres of filtered river water [a yea]r. Bonn itself has unproblematic [water] piped from a reservoir.

[Th]e city council felt unable to let [mat]ters rest. They sensed that the quali[ty o]f Godesberg water was under se[rious] attack and decided to take the ac[tion] to court.

[Th]at brought the problem into the [full] glare of publicity: a problem with [the] chemical name ortho-chlornitroben[zo]le.

[O]n 1 October 1982 the Dutch, who [rely] almost entirely on the Rhine for tap [wate]r, turned off their taps temporarily. [D]uring routine checks of river water [at] Lobith, a measuring station on the [Dut]ch side of the border, it was found [to c]ontain an alarmingly high count of [the] toxic chemical.

[A]s coincidence would have it, a labo[rat]ory vessel of the Dutch International [Wa]ter Tribunal Foundation happened [to b]e on the river at the time.

[O]n 20 September it had registered an [extr]emely high level of ortho-chlorni[trob]enzole pollution, over 100 micro[gram]s per litre, at the confluence of the [Ma]in and the Rhine, about 250 miles [up]stream from Lobith.

[T]he readings suggested that Hoechst [Che]micals was the likeliest offender. [The] company's Griesheim works had [bee]n granted permission to pump the [toxi]n into the river.

A fortnight later, on 13 October, a [Plit]tersdorf water works official, Rudolf [Wi]lldgen, took a sample that was [fou]nd to contain 0.72 micrograms of the [che]mical per litre.

A fortnight water still the level was [do]wn to below 0.01 micrograms, a level beneath which traces can no longer be identified.

The findings were said to prove "that the pollution of the Rhine with chlornitrobenzole which was found to have occurred at the beginning of October has since declined."

Herr Edel and the city of Bonn are now engaged in a lawsuit to determine whether 0.72 micrograms of the carcinogenic compound that is known to affect the genes is a dangerous level at which the water works ought to have been shut down.

Both sides refer to European Community guidelines laid down in 1980 that distinguish between organic chlorine compounds and permanent organic chlorine compounds.

The maximum level permitted for the one is 1 microgram per litre, for the other 0.1 microgram per litre of water. On 1 September Bonn county court is to rule on whether ortho-chlornitrobenzole is a permanent or an ordinary organic chlorine compound.

It may be seen as hair-splitting. Whichever way the court rules there will be no proof of a health hazard for the people of Bad Godesberg, not to mention the diplomats.

Herr Edel was in any case overstating his case in claiming that the people of Bad Godesberg were "a little nearer Heaven."

Yet the case raises three problems:

● Toxins such as chlornitrobenzole can penetrate water works filters, and the pollution level in Godesberg tap water in early October is likely to have been much higher.

The first sample was not analysed until it was all over bar the shouting. The previous day the Dutch had starting using Rhine water again because their readings were back down to a normal level.

● Purification of toxin-laden Rhine water is total only in respect of substances that are hard to dissolve in water. Readily soluble salts such as are still pumped in substantial quantities from the potash mines of Alsace into the Rhine cannot be extracted by filtration.

As a result it ends up in the tap water of areas served by water filtered on the river bank. Unlike other organic chlorine compounds, ortho-chlornitrobenzole is fairly easily soluble.

Besides, active carbon grows less effective as a filter with time. About a year ago Plittersdorf water works took to replacing filter units more often because of fears that toxic substances would make a breakthrough.

● The monitoring of Rhine water leaves much to be desired, says Hans-Georg Winter of the Rhine Water Works Association.

The early warning system is of only limited efficiency, given that pollution is only reported that can be seen with the naked eye. Higher toxin counts are disregarded.

Monitoring must definitely be improved. The Common Market guidelines provide for monthly checks of samples for 51 toxins at water works such as Plittersdorf.

But the EEC regulations have not yet been adopted as a national legal requirement, which they were supposed to have been over a transitional period of two years.

Chlornitrobenzole and nearly 5,000 other industrial chemicals would still not need to be checked regularly even though varying quantities of them are said to be found in Rhine water.

Such exhaustive checks would be out of the question evenif companies responsible for pollution were fined heavily.

If the Rhine is to continue supplying good tap water measures must be taken at an earlier stage: the point of input.

Ban needed

Higher charges for effluent containing organic compounds and an absolute ban on pumping poorly degradable toxins into the Rhine could work wonders.

There are occasions when water works officials come out with the unvarnished truth. Klaus Haberer of Wiesbaden water works once told a meeting of the Chemical Industry Association that:

"A special effort should be taken to ensure that effluent substances that cannot be eliminated either entirely or sufficiently by modern purification techniques are not pumped into the Rhine."

That was on 19 October 1982, three weeks after the chlornitrobenzole incident. The organisers reluctantly noted the point.

Egmont R. Koch and Uwe Lahl

(Die Zeit, 12 August 1983)

Across-border river purification still a source of concern

Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss has come in for criticism in connection with purification plans for a river.

Lower Saxony's Federal Affairs Minister, Wilfried Hasselmann, says Strauss has unnecessarily created a precedent by spontaneously agreeing to pay for purification of a stream that carries heavily polluted effluent from Sonneberg in the GDR over the border into Bavaria.

Herr Strauss, he says, has abandoned the principle of making the offender pay for the damage caused, a principle on which Lower Saxony must continue to insist.

Herr Hasselmann was prompted to make these comments in connection with plans to depollute the Weser drawn up by the *Länder* Lower Saxony, Hesse, North Rhine-Westphalia and Bremen.

The Weser, which is formed at Hannoversch Münden by the confluence of the Werra and the Fulda, carries a payload of 320kg of salt per second.

That is five times as much as the Elbe and the Rhine. It comes from potash factories in Thuringia, Hesse and Lower Saxony.

Thuringia in the GDR is the main offender, accounting for 270kg of the total. Hesse is to blame for 27kg and Lower Saxony for 20kg per second.

This industrial effluent is joined by ordinary industrial and domestic sewage, with Lower Saxony being responsible for about two-thirds of the total.

This hasn't always been the case. Potash has been mined on the Werra for a century, and since Bremen for years took most of its tap water from the Weser a treaty was concluded between Prussia and Thuringia at the turn of the century.

When Germany was divided at the end of the Second World War the potash works on either side of the border reached agreement in 1947 and 1951 on effluent quotas.

The agreement held good until 1967. Then, in 1968, water boards in the West began to notice that the GDR was overstepping the mark.

It first overfulfilled its quota by 100 per cent. By 1972 the GDR was pumping four times as much salt into the river as it should have been.

At one stage the Werra had twice the salt count of the North Sea. Salination changed both flora and fauna in the river.

The ground water bed of the Weser is salted up over a width of up to 400 metres. The water tapped from the river has had to be cut back substantially. Artificial irrigation of farmland with Weser water has been stopped entirely.

In 1980 the *Länder* reached agreement with the GDR on an expert commission to deal with the Weser. In 14 rounds of talks proposals were drafted and included in a paper initialled by both sides a year ago.

They include three measures to help solve the problem:

● Flotation units are to be laid on at GDR potash works of the kind often used in modern ore and salt mining. They separate the various kinds of salt from each other.

Rock salt is stockpiled. Fertiliser salts are processed. Elimination of the rock salt ends about 65 per cent of the pollution.

● The next step would be to install an underground buffer storage facility as a subterranean reservoir for effluent in summer.

This effluent could be pumped into the Werra in winter and spring when the water flows more freely and in greater quantity.

● A small pipeline could be run to the North Sea to handle such effluent as remained.

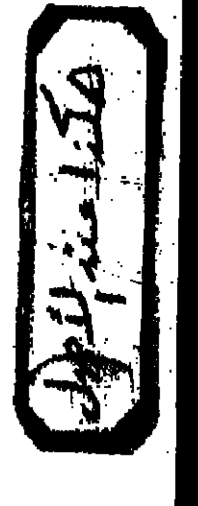
The scheme has only been costed in general terms so far. Flotation units are expected to cost between DM150m and DM200m.

Further financial consideration is to be given to the proposals as soon as agreement seems imminent. When that is will depend on the GDR.

The GDR has the whip hand because all the water flows north into the Federal Republic.

Josef Schmidt

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 17 August 1983)



■ ARCHAEOLOGY

Mesopotamian quest reveals a deep insight into origins of mathematics

New ideas about the origin of mathematics have emerged. How they have come to light is revealed here by Ernst Probst, writing in *Die Welt*. Probst was at a seminar on the subject at West Berlin's Free University organised by the Max Planck Institute for Educational Research and the University Centre of Roskilde, Denmark.

It was in Mesopotamia, the land between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris in what is now Iraq that the first numerical symbols were etched into clay tablets more than three millennia before Christ.

That was the time when the Sumerians formed the first thriving city-states around the mouths of the two rivers.

The cities' religious and economic life centred around such spectacular temples as that of Uruk, the oldest still preserved structure of its kind.

It was from here that the economic life was administered, irrigation organised and harvests distributed.

One of the most important aids to the administrative work was initially the so-called counting stones, small clay pebbles whose different shapes related to specific types of commodities like sheep, cattle, grain, etc.

This enabled the administrators to keep track of changes in herds of sheep or cattle or the stocks in the temple's grain silos. It also enabled them to keep a check on revenues and spending.

The handling of the stones required no knowledge of mathematics, not even the ability to add and subtract, because they simply reflected the movement of the things they represented.

When the Sumerian culture flowered, the counting stones had already been in use throughout the Mesopotamian region for some 5,000 years.

But it was not until the fourth millennium BC that the administrators first started putting impressions of the stones on to clay tablets. (The earliest of these tablets were found in Uruk and Elam in what is now Iran.)

These impressions were probably the first letter and figure symbols; and it took next to no time for the invention to spread.

Hans Nissen, professor of Asia Minor archaeology, explained at the seminar how the development of the script coincided with the city-states' need for more efficient administrative instruments.

But the first figure symbols found in sumerian and Elamite clay tablets were not real figures as we understand them today.

Like the counting stones, they related to specific objects. Accordingly, there were various systems of figure symbols; and their structure was determined by the measuring units of the commodities to be counted.

For example certain figures on the clay tablets stand next to the counting symbols for grain and area. They relate to each other by the quantity of grain to be harvested from a field of a particular size.

American Professor Marvin A. Powell was one of the pioneers of research into the measuring system used in the third millennium BC. Jöran Friberg, mathematics professor at Göteborg University in Sweden, went even further in his research work on the development of measuring systems, delving into the earliest protoliterary texts of the second half of the fourth millennium BC.

Since that script, a precursor of the later cuneiform script, has not yet been fully deciphered, Professor Friberg hopes to obtain some clues about the text by analysing the counting symbols.

Using a grain account relating to bread baking and brewing as an example, he demonstrated to the seminar how the identification of the measuring units used in a clay tablet can serve to decipher its text. He is also attempting to get to the roots of the sexagesimal place-value system.

Unlike our decimal system, which was invented more than 1,000 years later during the early Babylonian period and is based on the figure 10, the sexagesimal system is based on the figure 60.

One of the controversial questions at the Berlin meeting concerned the dating of the origins of today's place-value system.

Professor Powell was able to prove that the sexagesimal system occured in a text dating from the third Ur dynasty, which preceded the early Babylonian period. This makes it likely that the place-value system is even older than had hitherto been assumed.

The research work of Friberg and Powell has now been augmented by a computer analysis of the more than 2,000 clay tablets that were unearthed by a German archaeological expedition in the 1930s.

The Max Planck Institute for Educational Research presented the seminar with a model depicting the development of mathematical thinking in Mesopotamia.

The model is meant to show how the various object-related figure symbols eventually developed into an abstract concept of figures.

The figure symbols found in the earliest texts were initially no more than an aid to adding and subtracting, used pretty much like the counting stones.

Among the most discussed problems at the seminar was the gradual development of multiplication and division, a development that could have spanned more than 1,000 years. But the seminar closed without a clear answer to this question.

A large number of strictly mathematical texts of the early Babylonian period (from 2,000 BC) have been found.

The scribes of the era, Babylonia's intellectuals, dealt with problems far removed from everyday application.

Jens Hoyrup of the University Centre of Roskilde suggested that the scribes wanted to enhance their guild position by displaying virtuosity. They were able to deal with problems that would equal today's quadratic equation.

How they arrived at the solution of such problems remains one of the great mysteries of Babylonian mathematics. But Hoyrup demonstrated in Berlin that the mysterious Babylonian acrobatics with figures become understandable when relating them to geometry.

It was by no means a handful of Greek philosophers to whom we owe the discovery of mathematics as a science.

The Greeks were preceded by a development extending over thousands of years. But the Babylonians almost never formulated the methods and ... used in figuring. Instead, ... was demonstrated with conc... ples.

Yet there can be no doubt ... Babylonians' extensive ma... knowledge was the result of ... study rather than chance.

The wrong impression tha... nian mathematicians were ... in evolving certain rules tha... substantiated by the Greeks ... lack of knowledge.

Professor Wolfgang Lefèvre ... stitute of philosophy (who, tog... Peter Damerow of the Max Pl... tute for Educational Research, ... scientific colloquium at Berl... University) suggested that ... played a major role here, espe... regard to the definition of term...

It was this that enabled the G... evolve a scientific approach th... Babylonian mathematics, i... close to our own ideas. Yet in ... terms, Babylonian mathem... very much richer than the Gre...

There is, however, a dange... jecting too much modern m... into the old text and thus igno... uniqueness.

Only a comprehensive recon... of the Babylonians' mathema... thods can do justice to their ... ments and shed light on the ... our own thought processes.

Jürgen ...

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 Au...)

Curious coin custom is among old burial ground secrets

Early antiquity's custom of putting a coin under the tongue of the dead appears to have been in use in southern Hesse during the early Middle Ages (about 600 AD).

This is suggested by the gold coin found in the lower jaw of an old man's skeleton unearthed in the Offenbach-Bieber burial grounds.

The coin was intended as payment for the underworld ferryman Charon for taking the souls of the dead across the River Styx.

It was also customary at that time to provide the dead with food for the journey. This is indicated by the fact that a warrior's grave contained not only the man's skeleton but also the hind leg of a goat.

Archaeologists discount the possibility tht the goat's leg got into the grave accidentally because of the way it was positioned next to the human skeleton.

Unfortunately, the ... team of the Offenbach Work Gr... Prehistory and Early History wa... to determine the height of most ... a few skeletons.

But the finds suggest that the ... of Bieber women of the early M... Ages ranged from 1.55 to 1.6... while men stood about 1.70 to 1... tres tall.

In an article published in the ... zine *Natur und Museum*, Off... anthropologist Peter H. Blänkle... that, contrary to widespread a... tions, the people of that era we... smaller than those of today.

He bases his view on skeleton... in other burial grounds of the ... period in southern Hesse.

The height of the men found i... burial grounds (Starkenburg, W... Zullerstein, Rheingau and Ma... was beteween 1.69 and 1.73 metre... tallest male skeleton of that er... found in Kelheim on the Danu... measured 1.96 metres.

Like most people in the early M... Ages who were about 40 or older ... buried in Offenbach-Bieber mo... suffered from differing degre... arthritis of the joints and the spi... lumn.

The most commonly affected ... were the hip and shoulder joi... the lower part of the spine.

The arthritis is attributed to co... hard labour from early childh... seems that the Offenbach-Bieber p... of that era had to struggle for a li...

The ground-down teeth of the ... tons pointed to a predominantly ... rian diet, which is usually harder ... teeth than meat.

To make matters worse, sand ... other mineral impurities entered ... food through the milling process.

Ernst Pr...

(Die Welt, 10 Augu...)

THE ARTS

Higashiyama, master of the Japanese landscape

...sseldorf's Kunsthalle recently ...opened two exhibitions on one ... First was the vernissage for the old ... of Japanese landscape painting, Higashiyama, then the less formal ...tation of New York Now.

...w York Now features 25 young ...ers from Manhattan with a wide ... of subjects and materials: land... on cement and polystyrene, felt... ...d icons on foil and hardboard and ...ations from Rubens in acrylic ...

...hile they are vociferously subjec... ...he is reverent in his reserve. These diametrically opposite reactions, but are responses to crisis and change.

...1945, aged 37, Higashiyama had a ...ering experience of the beauty of ...re on the brink of destruction when ... spied the countryside from the ...lts of the fortress hill overlooking ...mamoto.

His progress toward the status of offi... painter of consolation from nature ...an in 1947 when the Japanese go...nment bought an Evening Sunshine ...ls at the annual Nitten exhibition of ...intings.

It was one of the first fruits of the de...ed astonishment that Higashiyama ... the end of the war.

...honours he has since received in... the Grand Cross of the Federal ... of Merit, awarded in 1976. This ...an award testified to longstanding ...

Higashiyama, born in 1908 in Yoko...a, where his father was a dealer in ...pping equipment, was the first Japa... exchange student in Berlin in 1933. ...inkishi Higashiyama (he adopted ...first name Kaii later) had studied ...ting back home. In Berlin he read ...history, then toured Europe.

In 1937 he helped to organise an ex...tion in Tokyo entitled Masterly ...wings from Germany.

He has repeatedly visited Germany ...e the war. At the opening of his ex...tion in Düsseldorf he made a ...ech in German thanking people for ... he had learnt and experienced ...

He mostly paints Japanese landscapes: the universally revered Fuji, maple leaves, the fine colour and shadow of which traditionally refer to nature in its entirety, and the mist between tree tops and peaks that is typical of Japan's insular climate.

But his experience of the forest is likely to have been European in origin. A number of his woodland scenes have a Scandinavian look about them; Japanese woods are mostly matted scrub.

Reflecting water is a major feature of many of his compositions. The reflection is at least equal in importance to reality.

This is the result of a sense of beauty that creates reality in parks for the sake of reflection.

Yet despite dealing with objects, Higashiyama's landscapes are not naturalistic.

Tree tops and trunks are superimposed in long shots, while details seen in close-up attain dramatic proportions.

A green streak of lightning on a whitish-grey background is entitled Valley, a bright band behind trees is entitled Echo.

Colours are heightened. A snow-white tree, arguably weighed down by cherry blossom, is shown against a background of dark pine tree tops. Junipers and autumn leaves divide a painting into grey-green and orange.

His colours are unusual; so are his paints. Higashiyama paints with powdered minerals and metals, with vegetable dyestuffs, with ceramic powder and glass dust.

The result is subdued colours and gently shining surfaces (many paintings on show in Düsseldorf are unfortunately behind glass).

The glow of fog, the shadow of the Moon and a vague velvet are favourite effects. The more coarse-grained the material, the darker the colour appears to be.

Dyestuffs are kneaded in glue and then dissolved in water. Higashiyama seldom paints on silk. Paper prepared with glue and alum is his usual medium.

His range of colours is limited, with a growing preference for blue. The Japanese landscape itself makes do with a limited number of basic colours: ash-coloured volcanoes, grey mountains, green trees, yellow beaches. Flowers are strange visitors.



Higashiyama's 'Huangshan Mountains after the Rain', 1978.

(Photo: Catalogue)

His paintings, mostly large canvases, convey an impression of peace and quiet. Their ambivalence between melancholy and cheerfulness is part of the Japanese character.

They are landscapes devoid of people, with the occasional horse appearing. As the Japanese see nature, mankind does not face it; he identifies with it, forms part of it.

Two people are always invisibly present in the painting, Higashiyama says. They are the artist and the person looking at the picture, the recipient of its message.

In the final analysis it is a religious message, since God is in nature according to Shinto beliefs.

So Higashiyama's paintings may fairly be described as religious landscapes, although not in the same way as those of Caspar David Friedrich.

In Friedrich's work man faces creation as in The Wanderer over the Sea of Clouds or The Monk by the Sea, a painting so monotonous, as Kleist saw it, that it has only the frame in the foreground.

When you looked at it the impression gained was "as though your eyelids had been cut off." The view does not stop at the edges of the picture; it is a detail from the infinite.

This is true of Higashiyama too. His paintings are details that seem boundless, but they don't express loneliness or a sense of abandonment. They preach oneness with nature.

It would seem logical that he has often been commissioned to do paintings for temples. There, his landscapes assume the character of votive tablets.

Sketches from 10 years' work at a temple in Nara, work that is considered to be his magnum opus, are on show in Düsseldorf.

Higashiyama has also gained a reputation of being the national painter, an artist whose paintings are given to visiting dignitaries.

When Japan and China resumed diplomatic ties in 1972 Chairman Mao was sent one of his paintings, entitled Dawn of Spring, as a gift.

When Queen Elizabeth visited Japan in 1973 the Tenno and his wife gave her a Spring Dawn by Higashiyama.

When the Japanese Emperor and his wife visited the United States in 1975 they gave the US President a Higashiyama painting entitled Summer Mountains with White Clouds.

There have been Higashiyama exhibitions in Paris in 1975, Peking in 1978, East Berlin and Leipzig in 1979. One cannot imagine his paintings upsetting anyone anywhere.

He is a great traditionalist who relativises himself. His art, he says, is only one form among many currents. He is relativised in Düsseldorf too, being exhibited alongside work by five younger painters from Japan.

They paint in oil and acrylic paint, much like the artists featured in New York Now.

Hans Daiber

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 29 July 1983)

■ LEISURE

Amateur writers look to the day when their hobby becomes their livelihood

Why learn how to write at night school? This is what one student at the writers' workshop evening classes in Münster, Westphalia, has to say:

"Writing means holding on to something/My feelings, my experiences/Making my imagination tangible/For me, and maybe for others too."

That is one man's blank verse explanation why he tries his hand at writing after work rather than just dozing in front of the TV set.

He is far from on his own with his hobby, especially in a working world and a living environment that are growing increasingly technological and improved and perfected.

The fewer areas there are left in which the individual can still do his own thing, the more people try to offset this anonymity by writing, by coming to terms with their lives on paper.

Klaus-Dieter Brunotte, an executive committee member of the German Writers' Association and himself an amateur writer, estimates that one person in five has seriously tried writing poems, prose or plays for any length of time.

One in two, or maybe three, has taken a closer look at literature and penned work of his own: experiments that mostly go no further than the writer's own four walls.

These are mere estimates. Part-time writing is certainly extensive. Even more certainly, not too much is known for sure about people who write as a *sideline*.

The amateurs include people who write strictly for pleasure, either for themselves or for friends at most.

Then there are writers who write for a limited public, occasionally reading their work in public or publishing it in small literary magazines.

Last but not least, there are those who aim to become full-time writers and only keep up their everyday jobs to make ends meet.

They all belong to the category of amateur writers. It is a large group, which is hardly surprising inasmuch as only five per cent of German writers make a living from what they write.

But that doesn't discourage many amateurs from dreaming of one day becoming a full-time writer.

Verena Stefan, the women's writer, used to work as a physiotherapist. The playwright Franz Xaver Kroetz used to work as a driver and male nurse and even did a stint as a banana cutter.

Max von der Grün bases his writing about the working world on his personal experience as a bricklayer, construction worker, coalminer and train-driver.

So many "semi-professional" writers refuse to abandon hope. Unlike the pure amateurs who are not immediately interested in earning a living from what they write, they are keen to find market outlets.

Some may find satisfaction in writing at home as a means of creatively coming to terms with themselves. Others eagerly collect publishers' addresses, hold readings of their work and regularly correspond with literary magazines.

The more hesitant yet no less ambitious would-be writers initially try their hands at establishing a reputation in a kind of semi-public.

They meet others for whom writing is just a hobby in private literary circles, at universities and at the writers' workshops run by night schools all over Germany.

Both groups fall under the broad heading of amateurs, but they are not altogether satisfactory bedfellows.

Marianne Riefert-Miethke, who runs the writers' workshop at Cologne's City-Treff and the Melanchthon Protestant Church Academy, outlines one reason why: "When some members of a group lay claim to superiority it tends to inhibit the others."

It took the Meiderich arts workshop in Duisburg a year to establish a steady membership.

The group began with a phase of pointless discussion and often unqualified criticism, triggering a counter-reaction.

Work by other people was then discussed in the most cordial fashion, but when it came to members' own work they were extremely diffident and preferred to say nothing.

Gerd Brosch, the director of evening classes in Cologne, has come to realise that his writers' workshop too is a mixed bag of the most varied characters and expectations.

It was some time before students grew less shy and reserved toward each other. Yet their expectations remained too varied for the course to agree on any one curriculum.

That in itself is hardly suprising. Unlike private literary circles, writers' workshops run at local authority evening classes are attended by a wide range of people.

They range from writing housewives to people who used to write for a living and are keen to get back into the habit after a lengthy break.

The more ambitious students are determined to write quality work in the long term, and quality is unquestionably a problem.

Editors of literary magazines can tell a tale of variations in quality. One is Kurt Morawietz, editor of the annual *Die Horen*, which was awarded the Alfred Kerr Prize for 1980.

He reckons there are between 300 and 350 literary magazines on the German market, including about 200 alternative mags that print work by amateurs.

But amateurs are seldom printed in the columns of his magazine. He uses a mere five per cent of the 400 manuscripts he is sent per month.

The remainder, he complains, are shoddy work, although most writers unfortunately fail to appreciate the point when it is made in connection with their own work.

"For lack of self-criticism," Morawietz says, "everyone feels he is a born writer."

Those who fail to get into print are, he says, either "stupid" (because they don't know how to go about it) or "lousy" (because they are [illegible] good as writers).

Nearly all literary mag[illegible] writers incapable of assessi[illegible] ty of their own work. D[illegible] hopeful amateurs is often a p[illegible]

Many are unable to disti[illegible] ween factual and personal [illegible] says Karl-Helmut Karst, ed[illegible] *Kölner Heft*.

Literary circles are partic[illegible] to dismissing objections rai[illegible] ders. They prefer to boost [illegible] egos.

This lack of self-criticism [illegible] weening desire for accla[illegible] smart publishers with an opp[illegible] preying on artistic pretension[illegible]

Everyone nowadays can [illegible] print. At a price. People wh[illegible] claim to have had a book of th[illegible] shed may well have had to p[illegible] privilege.

A number of publishers [illegible] publish the collected poems o[illegible] would-be writers — in return [illegible] DM1,750 in cash for a 70-page [illegible]

The writer is then given [illegible] mentary copies and, dependi[illegible] terms of the contract, betwee[illegible] per cent of the retail price in [illegible]

A writer who arranges wi[illegible] sher to include his work in a [illegible] gy may have to pay up to DM [illegible] page for the privilege.

Even those who doubt whe[illegible] are yet capable of writing [illegible] everyone has been waiting [illegible] bated breath need not despair.

A Hamburg firm runs a co[illegible] dence course that is guarantee[illegible] commercial writers out of th[illegible] basic course costs nearly DM[illegible]

Heike [illegible]

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, [illegible])

■ SOCIETY

A look at what women did in the old days

We all know from history lessons at school what men got up to in history. But what about the women?

What did they do in the age of troubadours, great Popes and crusades? What did they get up to while the men conquered the known world politically and economically?

The prevailing view was that women were unable on account of legal and biological limitations to take part in public affairs.

The mediaeval view of women is amply expressed in the words of a scholar who described the fair sex as poor in spirit.

They must not be required to do hard work or to wage war. But they had no claim to education or part to play in politics, legal affairs and the arts either.

This was the point at which two historians, Elisabeth Schraut, from Brunswick, and Claudia Opitz, from Constance, hit on contradictions that made them think twice.

Women may have been largely excluded from public affairs in the Middle Ages but there an amazing number of indications that there was a significant women's culture in those days.

They had no access to universities, being nominally limited to home, the family and the church. Yet many contemporary illustrations show women eagerly poring over books, looking at pictures or studying manuscripts.

The two historians have arrayed their extensive material on women and the arts in the Middle Ages in a touring exhibition.

It was first shown in Wolfsburg and Constance and is on show at the time of writing in Hanover. It documents the important part women played in the mediaeval art world.

The illustrations, unfortunately only photographic reproductions, naturally show women carrying out conventional domestic chores.

Meister Bertrams's Holy Mary in the Buxtehude altar painting is putting the finishing touches to a knitted shirt. She looks as though the halo is getting in her way as she counts the number of stitches.

Other women can be seen weaving or making themselves useful looking after a woman in labour.

The only widely-known exception to the dreary rule is Christine de Pisan, 1364-1430, who was as conversant with the Latin classics as she was with the main literary and philosophical works of her own era.

She wrotes treatises on history, education and politics. As the first feminist she discussed the situation of women in her time and complained of the slander women had to put up with, especially from educated men.

Yet men as a rule could not lay claim to being educated. Apart from the clergy, as mediaeval historian Herbert Grundmann has pointed out, only women could read.

This was a fact so widely acknowledged that books were felt to b[illegible] for women, as the Sachsenspi[illegible] oldest and most influential leg[illegible] the German Middle Ages, show[illegible]

Books could only be inherit[illegible] female line because, as a later [illegible] plained, only women could rea[illegible]

This applied to life in general [illegible] even more marked in the mona[illegible] tor.

Convents were long dismiss[illegible] refuge for hysterical nuns and [illegible] failed to find a mate. The ex[illegible] shows them to have been a s[illegible] which women came into their ow[illegible]

Women were trained in con[illegible] book illustrators, poets, musici[illegible] textile artists. They were relieve[illegible] tedious necessity of looking a[illegible] home.

Nuns were spared the suffe[illegible] childbirth and the trials of abor[illegible]

Many Benedictine and Do[illegible] convents are shown to have p[illegible] important works of art done by t[illegible] nuns.

Names such as those of Ros[illegible] Gandersheim and Hildegard of B[illegible] are merely the tip of an iceberg.

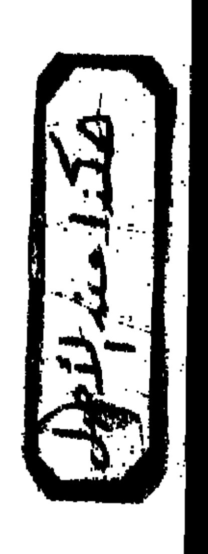
Herrad of Landsberg and her G[illegible] of Delight and Mechthild of M[illegible] burg were no less important. Me[illegible] claimed not to know any Latin [illegible] have been inspired by divine visio[illegible]

This claim must be taken le[illegible] sign of her level of education th[illegible] claim to legitimise her intellectu[illegible] logical and literary activities.

The exhibition catalogue inclu[illegible] list of women painters, poet[illegible] patrons of mediaeval art. There [illegible] many crowned heads among them.

Ursula [illegible]

(Bremer Nachrichten, 3 Augu[illegible])



MODERN LIVING

From theology student to aviatrix

[illegible]ow does a woman student of theology set about becoming a world [illegible]-holder in the air? All she needs is to follow in the footsteps of [illegible]t Orlowski, 26, from Porz, near [illegible]ne.

[illegible]h her long blonde hair she must [illegible]looked like Faust's Gretchen, the [illegible] of innocence, when she decided on a career in aviation.

[illegible] abandoned theology and univer[illegible]nd flew to America with five [illegible] licences in her pocket on the [illegible]ut for a job.

[illegible] those days," she recalls, "I wore [illegible]ir in plaits." They must have irri[illegible] her boss-to-be, David Waltz, a [illegible]-pilot and owner of a one-man [illegible] in Scranton, Pennsylvania.

[illegible]h no!" he said. "So young, and a [illegible]n too!" But on the quiet he was [illegible]essed. Yet he sent her away saying: [illegible] some orders in the book first."

[illegible] went the rounds of European [illegible]aft dealers and promptly returned [illegible] the States with a pocketful of con[illegible]ts.

[illegible] he took her on as a partner. He is [illegible]sident and she is vice-president of [illegible]nsacro International Inc., a compa[illegible] that ferries planes from continent to [illegible]tinent.

[illegible]hey now employ eight pilots, of [illegible]om she is one. Frau Orlowski is cur[illegible]tly the only woman in the world who [illegible]s her job as a full-time career.

She has flown across the Atlantic on her own 64 times, setting up world speed records for the North Atlantic run on no fewer than five occasions.

She delivers to customers, corporate or individual, virtually anything in the line of single- or twin-engined private planes.

They include brand names such as Cessna, Piper, Beach and Moony. They range from small planes costing a few hundred thousand marks to 20-seater turboprop aircraft that cost four million dollars.

With one exception she has delivered every one to its new owner without so much as a scratch.

The exception was an emergency landing in Canada. The plane was iced up and as heavy as lead. "At least I escaped without a scratch," she recalls.

On one occasion her engine seized up in mid-Atlantic. Airline pilots advised her by radio just to keep on flying. It was all very well for them with four engines, she says; her plane only had one.

The plane headed toward the ocean from an altitude of 17,000ft. "Ninety seconds later I would have had to put on my life jacket," she says. "Then, at 7,000ft, I managed to coax the engine back into life."

As a veteran of flying between America, Europe, Africa and Australia she frequently runs into difficulties.

Her oxygen supply once broke down. She felt sick and was just able to make an emergency landing in Canada.

Her husband Manfred is a teacher in Cologne. She has arranged with him to do only two flights a month instead of four. So she now spends more time at home.

Her transatlantic records made headline news in the States. On her first record-breaking flight she piloted a Cessna 210 Turbo from Labrador to Düsseldorf in thirteen and a half hours.

Her fifth record-breaking flight was at the controls of a four-seater Moony 231: from Gander, Newfoundland, to Zurich in 12 hours 33 minutes.

Jets are faster, obviously. "Taking a licence to pilot a jet would be no problem," Frau Orlowski says. "But there isn't a market for ferrying jets around the world.

"Anyone who can afford a private jet aircraft also has his own pilot."

She shares with her father her interest in flying. He was an airman in the Army. He took her often on excursions and for walks as a girl, always to some airfield or other.

She is keen to keep on flying until she is 70. She took her private pilot's licence at Hangelar, near Bonn, at 17, and her licence to fly seaplanes in the United States at 19.

She then qualified as a private aviation instructor in Bavaria and returned to America for instruction in flying from controls in bad weather.

At 21 she passed her exams as a professional pilot. She was fully qualified.

Up in the sky she feels freer than airline pilots. "I can stop over wherever I want," she says. "I once picked up a fur coat in Greenland during a stopover."

Twice she has flown single-handed from San Francisco to Sydney via Hawaii, Christmas Island and Samoa. It took her a week, including 50 hours aloft.

Crossing the Atlantic takes 12 to 14 hours. All she has to eat is a little fruit and a couple of sips of Coke. Never again will she be drinking a couple of cups of coffee before taking off from Canada as she once did.

Near the end of her journey to Cologne she was dying to go to the toilet. She considered a touch-down in Ireland but decided it was ridiculous to pay a landing fee of DM70.

At Cologne airport, she told herself, it costs nothing. She gritted her teeth.

But the moment she landed she shot out of the cockpit and ran past surprised customs officers straight towards the door marked Ladies.

Hans Wüllenweber

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 13 August 1983)

Margrit Orlowski ... a long wait (Photo: dpa)

Blue blood still runs through prominent veins

Most Germans would say that in the 20th century the nobility was a topic for the yellow press — if that.

Few realise that to this day many members of the nobility that forfeited political power in 1918 still hold substantial economic power.

The son and heir of 56-year-old Prince Johannes von Thurn and Taxis, who was recently christened Albert Maria Lamoral Miguel Johannes Gabriel, will one day inherit a fortune.

The family, once minor Italian noblemen, are now a multinational corporation reputed to be worth roughly DM1bn.

The Thurn and Taxis family once held a postal monopoly from the North Sea to Spain. They now own land in Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg, Canada, the United States and Brazil and are the largest private landowners in Europe.

The family have their own bank, breweries, several groups of companies in chemicals and electronics. They employ a payroll of about 5,000.

Much the same tale can be told of many other blue-blooded German families. In southern Germany alone 25 titled families each own over 40 million square metres (10.000 acres) of land.

Eight families own over 100 million square metres (25,000 acres) each.

About 1,000 members of the nobility are banking and insurance executives. The country's largest private bank are owned by noblemen.

They are Sal. Oppenheim, with a balance sheet totalling over DM10bn, and Merck, Finck & Co. They are part-owned by the sons of the richest man in Germany.

He is August von Finck, a Bavarian baron reputedly worth $4bn.

Members of the nobility are board members of leading German companies, such as oil and chemicals conglomerate Veba and electrical engineering multi Siemens.

A nobleman is head of the National Farmers' Union. Another is head of the Confederation of Federal Republic Industry.

Otto Wolff von Amerongen, a steel company-owner, heads of Standing Conference of Federal Republic Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

The Automobilclub von Deutschland

Continued on page 15

■ MEDICINE

Good reasons for not using drugs for children's behaviourial problems

There are many reasons why drugs should not be used to treat behavioural problems in children, delegates to the seventh world congress for psychiatry were told in Vienna.

A child which has learning difficulties may have an illness. On the other hand it may just be unable to concentrate for long periods. It may suffer from timidity or depression.

Many separate problems can affect the overall behaviour of a child. What makes a diagnosis even more difficult is the lack of dependable studies on the effects of psychopharmaca on children.

Ever since these drugs became available, many parents have felt that they were entitled to have "normal" and "well functioning" children through drugs.

They are wrong. Though useful in treating psychotic and depressive disorders, psychopharmaca are of limited use in children; and they can often be dangerous.

Learning difficulties are now treated primarily by such stimulants as amphetamines and similar drugs.

Professor K. Minde of the Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto criticised the hasty prescription of these drugs by doctors who omitted to take a closer look at conditions in the child's home and at school.

Learning difficulties can be due to the inability to pay attention long enough (when stimulants can help); but *they can also be due to a child's inability* to mentally process what it is taught. This would be a genuine learning problem where psychopharmaca are worthless.

Concentration problems occur primarily with socalled hyperactive children. But there is much confusion over this term.

Some people interpret it to mean any kind of odd behaviour while others deny outright that such a thing as hyperactivity exists.

Professor Minde described hyperactive children as those who know no fear in dangerous situations, who destroy everything that comes their way and who fidget instead of paying attention at school.

Hyperactivity, he said, begins in the womb and is noticeable in the first year.

Hyperactive children have considerable problems at school. 15 per cent are slow learners and 50 per cent drop behind because of their inability to pay attention.

These children can be helped with psychopharmaca that enable them to pay attention for a longer period.

But amphetamines promote only mechanical learning; they do not help a child understand new concept. Moreover, their effectiveness is short-lived.

A few hours after taking the pill, the child is back to where it was before, though it does not forget what it learned under the drug's influence.

But these pep pills are useless with normal children who just happen to be poor learners.

Like all psychopharmaca, stimulants have many side effects, most commonly lack of appetite, insomnia and head and stomach aches. They can also create the impression of robot-like mindlessness.



But these drugs do not seem to be habit-forming.

Though amphetamines seem to retard a child's growth, this is made up for in the year after treatment is stopped.

While some people consider the prescription of stimulants tolerable even over long periods, children should not be given the so-called nootropic drugs as a matter of principle, Professor Minde told the meeting.

These substances whose makers advertise them in Europe as "intelligence boosters" have been banned in America for lack of reliable information on their effectiveness.

Scientific publications on such drugs as piracetam, centrophenoxin and pyritinol are "disastrous," Professor Minde said.

The choice of patients and test results are inconclusive and unreliable, he said.

And the few usable studies show no favourable effects of nootropic drugs on children with behavioural and learning problems.

For this reason and because of their side effects, these drugs should not be used on children for both ethical and practical reasons.

This is important because (as Professor Gerhardt Nissen of Würzburg University's Clinic for Child and Youth Psychiatry told the congress) piracetam is easily obtainable in West Germany while stimulants can only be had on prescription.

Professor Nissen advocated maximum restraint in the treatment of juveniles with benzodiazepine-based tranquillisers.

If at all, he said, they should be given for short period only or in conjunction with other psychopharmaca because they can lead to addiction later.

He described fear and apprehension as important and useful for a person's normal development.

Fear of separation can prevent the child from being separated from its mother and fear of the environment makes it regard the family as a haven.

Learning how to cope with fear is part of the growing up process and should not be influenced by drugs.

Adolescents are frequently frightened of such normal developments as leaving the parental home, searchi[ng for] identity and sexual relations.

In adolescents with their [con]flicts, it is hard to differentia[te] natural and pathological fe[ars] case of natural fears, yo[ung] should not be offered pharm[aceutical] "solutions" because of the d[anger of] addiction.

The indiscriminate presc[ription of] tranquillisers that help over[come] without many side effects ca[n] a smokescreen over patholog[ical prob]lems, making it impossible to [...] them. This is so because fear a[nd appre]hension occur in almost all p[sychologi]cal disorders.

In some cases, Professor Ni[ssen] it can prove useful to adminis[ter combi]nations of benzodiazepines [...] drugs.

This also applies to massive [...] ters that cannot be treated wit[h...] therapy. Here, betablockers a[nd benzo]diazepines can be useful be[cause of] their minimal side effects.

But normal exam jitters [...] drugs. Exams are useful and [...] because they make a student [...]

Professor Nissen stressed th[at...] successful, psychopharma[...] treatment of children should g[o hand in] hand with psychotherapy for th[e child] and his next-of-kin. There is n[o substi]tute for active and passive psy[chothera]py, nor is it desirable.

Person-to-person help, he [...] more important than any d[rug...] prop.

Margot Be[...]

(Frankfurter Allgeme[ine Zeitung] für Deutschland, 11 A[...])

Old age: it's just different from the other ages

People become more complex as they grow older, says a researcher. Paul Baltes, director of the Berlin-based Max Planck Institute for Educational Research, says that flexibility and variability are characteristics of middle age and not old age.

He told the world congress for development psychology in Munich that people developed individual traits as they grew older, they became more different from other people and more complex.

A University of Pennsylvania delegate, Martin Seligman, said the much quoted mid-life crisis did not affect everybody. But everybody could be faced with uncontrollable traumatic events.

When a middle-aged person was affected by such events he or she could become depressed as a result of blaming him or herself rather than circumstances, he said.

Difficult situations sometimes led to melancholy and to increased drinking.

Susan Frank and her team of the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago studied the connection between self-esteem and drinking in a survey involving 175 pairs of parents (aged between 47 and 78) and their 89 adult children (aged between 24 and 30).

They found that people with a low self-esteem are more likely to reach for the bottle to cope with psychological problems than those who think more of themselves.

Social drinking among those under psychological stress is also more prevalent than among the rest.

Generally, men drink more than women, regardless of the reason, and

Süddeutsche Zeitung

they are also more often escape drinkers.

In this study, the parents were better able to control their drinking than their children.

Interestingly, young men in high calibre jobs drink more than others in the same age group. Much of their drinking is done to overcome fears and stress.

Although this result of the study might not be too reliable because only slightly more than half of the young people involved filled in the questionaires and underwent tests, the results are confirmed by a number of other studies.

Where young people are concerned, therapy to enable them to cope with stress is probably the best approach.

Susan Frank's study showed that heavy drinking among these young people is due more to problems at work than lack of self-assurance.

Crises in older people — naturally — frequently have to do with health or lack of flexibility.

Bonn gerontologist Ursula Lehr and her team tried to establish the connection between "objective" health (that can be ascertained by a medical diagnosis) and "subjective" health (based on a person's own assessment of his wellbeing) among older people.

Her study was part of a larger project in which men and women born between 1890 and 1895 and between 1900 and 1905 were observed at seven separate times over a period of 15 years.

A comparison of the first obs[ervation] in 1965 and the last one in 19[...] that the coincidence between ob[jective] and subjective health grows as ti[me pas]ses (and the self-assessment of [health] improves) though fewer people [regard] their health as being in bette[r shape] than their doctors say.

In this connection, the congr[ess' at]tention was drawn to an earlier [study by] Ursula Lehr that showed lon[gevity to] have more to do with subjectiv[e than] with objective health.

Activeness, self-confidence an[d inde]pendent action, the congress w[as told] time and again, could retard p[hysical] and mental decline.

An experiment made by [...] Dittmann-Kohli (Max Planck In[stitute] for Educational Research) wi[th] people aged between 60 and 8[...] firmed earlier findings: Even in a[dvanc]ed age, mental training can prom[ote in]telligence and give people more [confi]dence in their ability to cope wi[th re]curring problems.

Pennsylvania State Universi[ty's] Warner Schaie found in a lon[g-term] survey (21 years) involving 120 p[eople] that flexibility in middle age help[s pre]serve such mental abilities as artic[ulate]ness.

Studies of this kind are importa[nt for] both individuals and adult educ[ation] institutions and their progra[mmes] where the attitudes and motivatio[n of] older people are important.

After all, growing old is not a di[sease.] And many negative forecasts [...] "most people decline towards th[e end] of their lifespan") materialise only [be]cause old people are not trusted [to ac]quire new and useful skills.

Older people should be given [guid]ance to enable them to cope with [their] problems better and with more fle[xibili]ty.

Karin Böhm[...]

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 August [...])

[Th]e city of Cologne runs a counselling centre to help Turks who deve[lop] psychological problems. It is run by [...] for Turks.

[The] centre was set up five years ago [becau]se of the number of Turkish people succumbing to mental stress. Five [specia]lists offer a range of help not [availa]ble in any other German city.

[Psyc]hologist Cengiz Aypar is the [head]. He says there are no symptoms [or] ailments that he would call typically Turkish.

[The] difference here was that the Tur[ks'] problems were more massive and [compl]icated.

[A] cautious estimate — there were [...] times as many Turkish as German [...]n in the same age group with behavio]ural problems.

[Cas]es dealt with include people [...]ng, by for example withdrawal, to [unreas]onable fears triggered by various [...] pressures.

[Ab]out one-third of the 60,000 Cologne Turks who see a doctor are not physically but psychologically ill, a local [news]paper recently after interviewing [s]ix Turkish doctors in the city.

[So]me of these patients eventually [find] their way to the centre, usually [whe]n their symptoms have become so [alar]ming that they can no longer be [over]looked and the general practitioner [is at] his wits' end.

[I]n children and juveniles, the symp[toms] can be bed-wetting and stuttering, [stub]born refusal to talk and, in the [mo]re severe cases, depression.

[I]n the parents, who are included in [con]sultations, the symptoms can be sui[cid]al tendencies, stomach ulcers and all [kin]ds of phobias.

[A] 35-year-old mother of two who [star]ted treatment by Ayper a while ago

■ BEHAVIOUR

Centre helps Turks to cope with stress

suffered from insomnia, headaches, restlessness and extreme fear.

The German psychiatrists of a major state hospital in Cologne were unable to talk to her and therefore never understood what was troubling her. They attacked the problem with drugs.

It was not until she went to the centre, where everybody spoke her language, that she began to talk about what was wrong.

Five years ago, the woman came to Germany to join her husband. Back in Turkey, she had been a largely independent woman living in a familiar social environment and appreciated by her large clan.

In Cologne, her husband became the supreme boss. He knew everything better and took care of everything himself.

The wife was not allowed to shop on her own or talk to anybody because he saw dangers lurking round every corner.

And when, after a long, lonely day at home, she looked out of the window, her husband wanted to know why she was looking out.

After years of being locked up, she withdrew into herself. She did not bother to get up in the morning and neglected the household and the children.

It was not until they talked with Aypar that the husband realised what he had done to his wife.

The realisation did not come from one day to the next. "It was a long, tough battle to get his through to the man," says Aypar.

Little by little, things fell into place and today the husband permits his wife to shop on her own and find her feet in the strange country without his help.

Aypar sees this as a typical example of the problems confronting Turks in Germany.

Married by arrangement at a very young age, couples in Turkey have much more scope for keeping clear of each other. "The men have their set of friends; they can go to the village café while the women get together to knit.

"On weekdays, a woman knows what other women happens to have open house where she can drop in. This applies even to major cities like Istanbul. But here, the adults are cooped in a small room, frequently not knowing another soul," says Aypar.

This leads to what he calls an "inescapable proximity."

"At the same time, the women experience entirely new forms of husband-wife relations, making them demand more warmth, tenderness and partnership from their husbands — a demand that isn't easily met."

Many marriages also founder on the rejection the Turks experience from the Germans.

Aypar: "The patients who come to me presuppose that I know about the frostiness that surrounds them, saying 'you know what the Germans are like; they'll never have any compassion'."

When Aypar asks why a patient did not take his problems at work to the foreman he is invariably told: "You know how it is. He couldn't care less whether I live or die."

Many of the people who come to see him consider the Germans heartless. All they ever think of is money.

Aypar understands what troubles them. He knows the difference between this country and Turkey.

"When my wife and I go to Turkey on holiday and arrive at a camping site in the dark, the man in the neighbouring tent is bound to come over and say 'You've come a long way and you must be hungry. Come and eat with us.'

"Not so in Germany. Here, when we arrive with our tent, they hope we'll erect it as far from them as possible."

This, in a nutshell, is the difference between life in Turkey and life in Germany as experienced by most Turks in this country.

And this, according to Aypar, is the main reason why the Turks in Germany find it so hard to cope.

Their only defence is to withdraw into a cocoon. And this widens the chasm still further.

Women suddenly stop wearing make-up and start wearing head-scarves — something they had long stopped doing in Turkey.

"Men who didn't care about religion at home suddenly become fanatics. It's all a protective wall erected against the environment in which they now live — against rejection and the unfriendliness of the Germans."

Children are the principal victims. They are shuttled between the grandparents in Turkey and the parents in Germany from whom they have become estranged by separation — and they frequently do not know any more where they belong.

Young girls who at home had all the freedoms a child needs, who could climb fences and trees, are suddenly jealously guarded by their fathers.

And young men who would not have dreamed of having a casual affair in Turkey find that only those who "go steady" are somebody among Germans of the same age.

The insoluble conflict wreaks havoc. 14-year-olds start bed-wetting and stuttering from one day to the next. Girls resort to drugs and run away from home. Boys become aggressive, beat up their schoolmates, smash windows and demolish the symbols of affluence around them.

In some people, protest starts very early. One five-year-old patient had not, in two years in kindergarten, spoken a single word. "As soon as he goes inside the building, he clams up. And the moment he is out again he never stops talking."

The relaxation exercises and play at the centre are vital for the boy because he would otherwise inevitably wind up in school for retarded children although he is bright.

He is making good progress now, and there is every indication that he will soon abandon his lonely protest.

If so, he will be one of the lucky ones because the waiting list at the centre is huge. The five staff members are simply not enough for a city the size of Cologne. And not everybody who needs help knows about the centre.

If one 20-year-old woman had gone to the centre in time she might have been helped. As it was, in early July — after years of exploitation and suppression by her family — she shot a Turk who wanted to force her into prostitution.

When she was arrested, she said something many of the Turks who come to Aypar readily understand: "I've felt imprisoned up to now. So why should I care if I'm now put into a real prison?"

Ingrid Müller-Münch

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 16 August 1983)

Continued from page 13

also has a nobleman at the helm, Prince Paul Alfons von Metternich-Winneburg, a desendant of the Austrian Chancellor.

Blue blood is less widespread than might be expected in the armed forces and the diplomatic service. Only one diplomat in 10 is an aristocrat; until 1918 it was nine out of 10.

But Bonn is fast competing with Munich as a stronghold of the nobility. Many aristocrats have headed for Bonn now Berlin is no longer the turntable of the country.

Most work at ordinary jobs. Few have made it to top jobs like Count Lambsdorff, the Minister of Economic Affairs, whom Social Democrat Herbert Wehner used to refer to as the economics baron.

Yet Helmut Schmidt as Chancellor had an aristocrat as his foreign policy adviser, while Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has two members of the nobility to advise him.

There are a round dozen blue-blooded members of the Bonn Bundestag. They include Prince Hermann-Otto Solms of Hesse, who has preferred to drop his title.

Evelyn Bohne

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 August 1983)